WESTERN FRONT
London
Thames
Rochester
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Chatham
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Canterbury
ENGLAND
Tunbridge Wells
Folkestone
Dover
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Battle
Dungeness
Hastings
Strait of Dover
Gravelines
Calais
C. Gris Nez
Beachy Head
Boulogne
English Channel
Montreuil
Berck s. Mer
Somme Bay
North Sea
Middelburg
Flushing
Goes
Zeebrugge
Blankenberghe
Ostend
Nieuport
Dunkirk
Furnes
Bergues
Bailleul
Hazebrouck
Estaires
St. Omer
Desvres
Aire
Lillers
Bethune
Neuve Chapelle
Festubert
Loos
La Bassee
Lens
Carvin
Hulluch
Hohenzollern Redoubt
Hill 70
Lille
Tournai
Roubaix
Tourcoing
Renaix
Courtrai
Ghent
Bruges
Eeclo
Thourout
Aeltre
Thielt
Roulers
Ypres
Zonnebeke
Passchendaele
Gheluvelt
Menin
Audenarde
Soignies
Mons
Valenciennes
Douai
Denain
Le Quesnoy
Hautmont
Cambrai
Le Cateau
Landrecies
Le Catelet
Bohain
Fourmies
Guise
St. Quentin
Vervins
Bapaume
Albert
Combles
Peronne
Bray
Amiens
Villers-Bretonneux
Demuin
Chaulnes
Nesle
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La Fere
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Rozoy
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Gobain
Forest
Ribecourt
Compiegne
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Soissons
Villers Cotterets
Creil
Senlis
Beauvais
Clermont
Chaumont-en-Vexin
Milly
Montdidier
Forges-les-Eaux
Abbeville
Doullens
Arras
Croisilles
Quean
Dieppe
Blangy
Aumale
Neufchatel
Fecamp
Yvetot
Bolbec
Lillebonne
Le Havre
Rouen
Honfleur
Pont Audemer
Sotteville
Elbeuf
Louviers
Les Andelys
Lisieux
Bernay
Evreux
Vernon
Pontoise
Beaumont
Mantes
Poissy
St-Germain
Versailles
Breteuil
Laigle
Dreux
Rambouillet
Paris
Meaux
Lagny
Charenton
St. Denis
Vincennes
La Ferte-sous-Jouarre
Coulommiers
Montmirail
Chateau Thierry
Dormans
Epernay
Bligny
Sergy
Cierges
Fere-en-Tardenois
Pismes
Bazoches
Fismette
Soissons
Brimo
Rei
Sezanne
St. Gond Marshes
Provins
Romilly
Melun
Corbeil
Etampes
Fontainebleau
Montereau
Estissac
Pithiviers
Souppes
Sens
Joigny
Montargis
Auxerre
Sully
Glen
Fontenay
St. Sawveur
Bar-sur-Se
Armancon
Serain
Cure
Yonne
Seine
Marne
Aisne
Oise
Somme
Authie
Canche
Lys
Scheldt
THE BATTLEGROUND IN
BELGIUM, FRANCE
and ALSACE-LORRAINE
Farthest Advance of Germans, 1914
Hindenburg Line, 1917
Farthest Advance of Germans, 1918
Final Battle Line, Nov. 11, 1918
(Neutral Zone along the Rhine)
10 KM
Principal Railroads
Principal Canals
Forts
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
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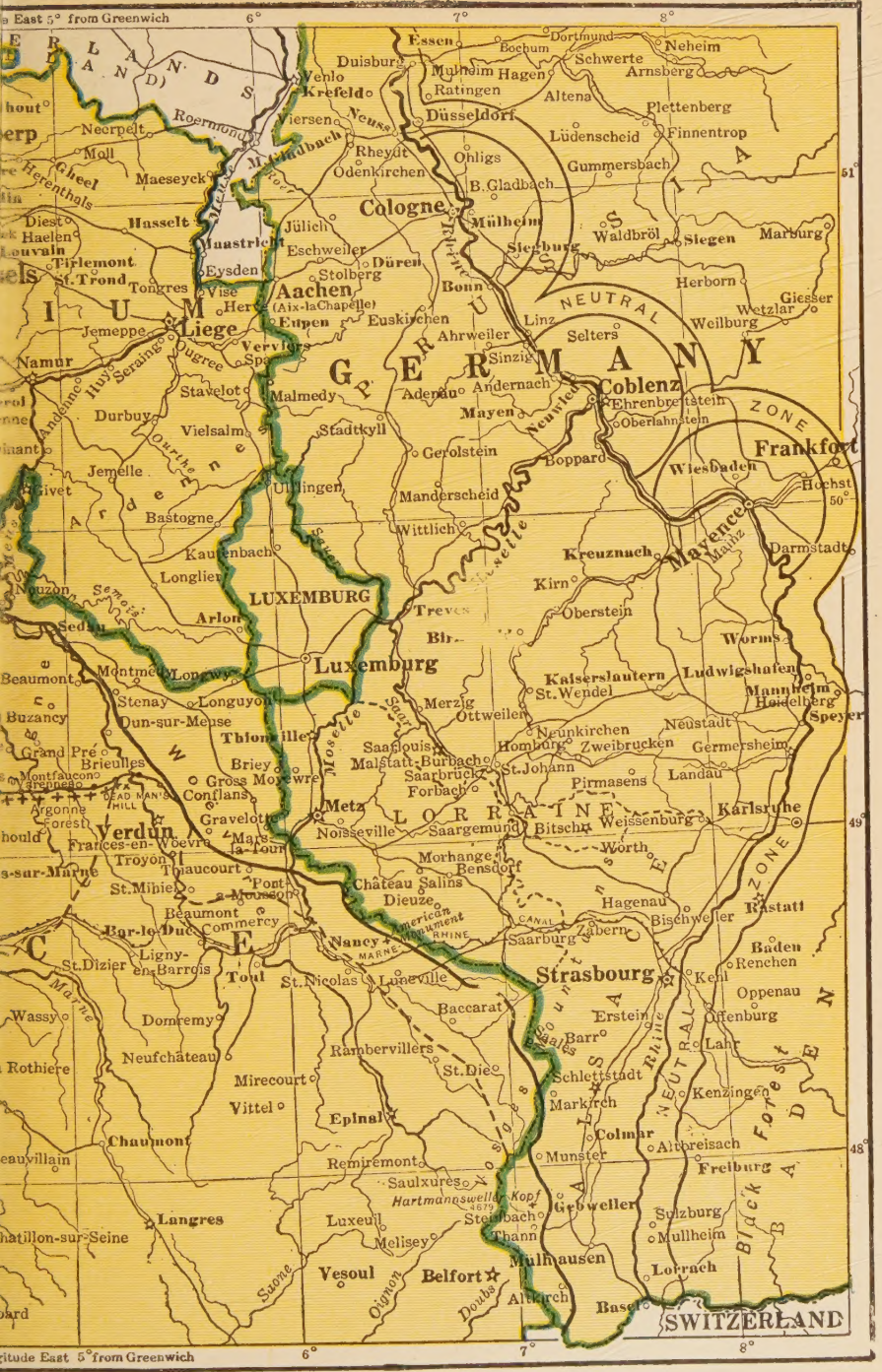
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Düsseldorf
Plettenberg
Viersen
Lüdenscheid
Finnentrop
Roermond
Mönchengladbach
Rheydt
Ohligs
Gummersbach
Odenkirchen
B. Gladbach
Cologne
Mülheim
Waldbröl
Siegen
Marburg
Jülich
Siegburg
Eschweler
Stolberg
Düren
Bonn
Herborn
Aachen
(Aix-la-Chapelle)
Linz
Wetzlar
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Ahrweiler
Selters
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Höchst
Manderscheid
Wittlich
Kreuznach
Mainz
Darmstadt
Kirn
Oberstein
Worms
Kaiserslautern
Ludwigshafen
St. Wendel
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Speyer
Merzig
Ottweiler
Neunkirchen
Neustadt
Homburg
Zweibrücken
Germersheim
Saarlouis
Malstatt-Burbach
St. Johann
Landau
Saarbrücken
Pirmasens
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Saargemünd
Bitsch
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Worth
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Bensdorf
Château Salins
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Hagenau
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Bischweiler
Saarburg
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Strasbourg
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Barr
Schlettstadt
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St. Die
Markirch
Kenzingen
Mirecourt
Vittel
Colmar
Altbreisach
Epinal
Munster
Freiburg
Remiremont
Saulxures
Gebweiler
Sulzburg
Langres
Luxeuil
Melisey
Thann
Mullheim
Mülhausen
Lörrach
Vesoul
Belfort
Altkirch
Basel
SWITZERLAND
Verdun
Toul
Nancy
St. Nicolas
Luneville
Commercy
Bar-le-Duc
St. Mihiel
Thiaucourt
Troyon
Gravelotte
Conflans
Briey
Thionville
Longuyon
Montmedy
Longwy
Sedan
Arlon
LUXEMBURG
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Kauterbach
Bastogne
Jemelle
Durbuy
Vielsalm
Stavelot
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Hasselt
Maastricht
Eysden
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Wassy
Rothiere
Beauvillain
Montfaucon
Argonne Forest
Dead Man's Hill
Grand Pré
Buzancy
Dun-sur-Meuse
Stenay
Beaumont
Brieulles
Gross Moyeuvre
Frances-en-Woevre
Troyon
Thiaucourt
St. Mihiel
Pont-à-Mousson
Beaumont
Commercy
Ligny-en-Barrois
St. Dizier
Vitry-le-François
Marne
Meuse
Moselle
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Oise
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Semois
Lys
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Scheldt
Roer
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Erft
Ourthe
Amblève
Vesdre
Meuse
Maas
Rhine
Neckar
Main
Nahe
Lahn
Mosel
Saar
Ill
Doubs
Saône
Aare
Reuss
Limmat
Rhone
Black Forest
Hartmannswiller Kopf
American Monument
Canal
Marne
Rhine
NEUTRAL ZONE
ALSACE
LORRAINE
GERMANY
BELGIUM
HOLLAND
Longitude East 5° from Greenwich

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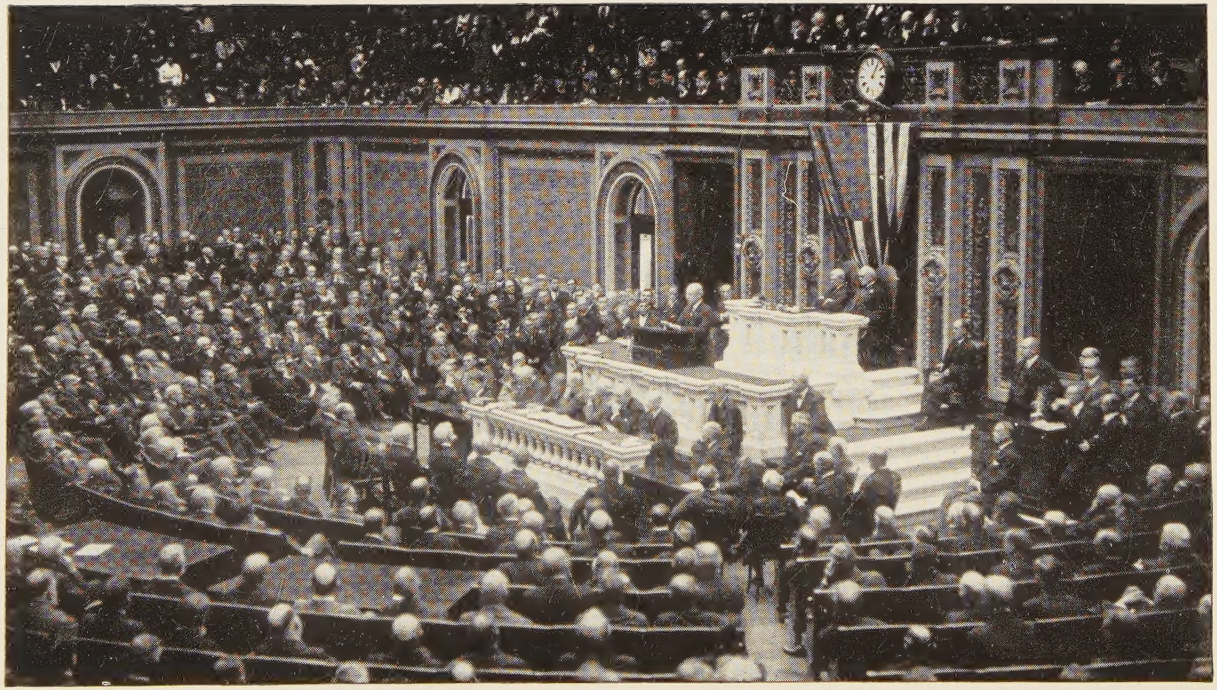

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PRESIDENT WILSON ASKING CONGRESS TO DECLARE WAR

The date of his address was April 2, 1917. The House passed the declaration on April 4th, the Senate on April 6th

THE LITERARY DIGEST
History of the World War

Compiled from Original and Contemporary Sources: American, British, French, German, and Others

BY

FRANCIS WHITING HALSEY

Author of "The Old New York Frontier," Editor of "Great Epochs in American History," "Seeing Europe with Famous Authors," "Balfour, Viviani, and Joffre, Their Speeches in America," etc.

IN TEN VOLUMES—ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME IV

THE UNITED STATES ENTERS THE WAR—THE SECOND BATTLE OF FLANDERS—AEROPLANES AND ZEPPELINS—GERMANY'S BIDS FOR PEACE

December 12, 1916—March 21, 1918

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY

NEW YORK AND LONDON

1919

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ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Part XII

THE UNITED STATES ENTERS THE WAR

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PRESIDENT WILSON AND HIS CABINET IN 1917

I

THE SEVERING OF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY, THE ZIMMERMANN NOTE, AND THE SENATORIAL FILIBUSTER

December 12, 1916—March 26, 1917

IN the presence of all members of the Reichstag, even those who had been serving at the front, and of the entire Diplomatic Corps, a declaration of historic importance having to do with peace was made by the German Government on December 12, 1916—an event which, as it eventually came to be understood from the German point of view, brought about a severing of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, followed within a few weeks by a declaration from the United States of a "state of war." The announcement as made by Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg was that he had that day dispatched to the Entente Allies, and to neutral countries, a proposal for opening peace negotiations. Preliminary to this statement he reviewed the recent progress made by German armies, including the entrance of Roumania into the war against Germany, which, designed by the Entente Allies as a fatal blow, had instead led to German victories and provided grain, oil, and other goods sufficient to relieve Germany's needs. Attacks made in other fields at the same time by British, French, Italians and Russians he represented as having been successfully resisted, and concluded his address in words accepted by the Entente Allies as a continuance of his intolerable arrogance:

"Our strength has not made our ears deaf to our responsibility before God, before our own nation, and before humanity. The declarations formerly made by us concerning our readiness for peace were evaded by our adversaries. Now we have advanced one step further in this direction. On August 1, 1914, the Emperor had personally to take the gravest decision which ever fell to the lot of a

German—the order for mobilization—which he was compelled to give as a result of the Russian mobilization. During these long and earnest years of the war, the Emperor had been moved by a single thought: How peace could be restored to safeguard Germany after the struggle in which she has fought victoriously. In a deep moral and religious sense of duty toward his nation and, beyond it, toward humanity, the Emperor now considers that the moment has come for official action toward peace."

It was understood that underneath this arrogance lay a desire by Germany that representatives of the belligerent powers should meet in conference at The Hague in January for a full discussion of all questions at issue. What terms Germany was willing to concede was left as a matter only for surmise. No authorized statement of German terms was made public then or afterward, but, from what was allowed to come out from semi-official sources, it was inferred that the basis was substantially the *status quo ante bellum*, or a return to conditions that existed before the war, except as to the Balkans and the Russian frontier. Germany was thought willing to evacuate all territory occupied by her armies in Belgium and France. Belgium would be reestablished as before, altho Germany might insist on the defortification of Antwerp and other Belgian cities.

By an unexpected coincidence President Wilson on December 18—six days later—sent a formal diplomatic communication to all the nations engaged in the war, inviting them to an exchange of views as to terms of peace. The note was said to have been prepared several weeks before it was sent; in fact before the German Chancellor had made his announcement, the American Government stating this fact in order to dispel any suspicion on the part of the Allies that it was "backing" Germany. President Wilson's communication was made in diplomatic terms and was not a proposal of intervention, or even of mediation, but simply a tender of good offices. It met with a prompt response from Germany and her allies, who, in substance repeated the proposal contained in the German declaration of December 12, but a little more explicitly, since they now proposed "an immediate meeting of delegates of the belligerent states at a neutral place." As to the prevention of future wars to which

the President's address had made particular reference, Germany declared that so great a work could be begun "only after the end of the present struggle of the nations." Nor was any reference made to a suggestion President Wilson had offered that the warring nations should state their peace terms. Prompt utterances in the parliaments of all the Entente Allies and by the Premiers of those countries, of which the speech of Mr. Lloyd George was the most conspicuous, foreshadowed the later formal Allied reply. Mr. Lloyd George's phrase — "Complete restitution, full reparation, and effectual guaranties" — exprest the spirit of all the nations that were fighting Germany. In formal Allied reply a few days later peace terms were indicated as follows:

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COL. EDWARD M. HOUSE
A snapshot of President Wilson's representative at the Supreme War Council after a meeting of the council in Paris

"The Entente objects of the war are well known. The civilized world knows that they imply, in all necessity and in the first instance, the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, of Montenegro, and of Roumania, the evacuation of the invaded territories of France, of Russia, and of Roumania, with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe, guaranteed by a stable *régime,* and founded as much upon respect of nationalities and full security and liberty of economic development, which all nations possess, as upon territorial conventions and international agreements suitable to guarantee territorial and maritime frontiers against unjustified attacks; the restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the

will of their populations; the liberations of Italians, of Slavs, of Roumanians, and of Czecho-Slovaks from foreign domination; the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, decidedly alien to Western civilization. The intentions of his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, regarding Poland have been clearly indicated in the proclamation which he has just addrest to his armies.

"It goes without saying that if the Allies wish to liberate Europe from the brutal coveteousness of Prussian militarism, it never has been their design, as has been alleged, to encompass the extermination of the German peoples and their political disappearance. That which they desire above all is to insure a peace upon the principles of liberty and justice, upon the inviolable fidelity to international obligations with which the Government of the United States has never ceased to be inspired. United in the pursuit of this supreme object, the Allies are determined, individually and collectively, to act with all their power and to consent to all sacrifices, to bring to a victorious close a conflict upon which they are convinced not only their own safety and prosperity depend, but also the future of civilization itself."

The reply of the Entente Allies was dated January 10. Twelve days later President Wilson delivered before the United States Senate an impressive address in behalf of peace. The keynote of the speech was that, while the United States would willingly join in any international movement to secure the future peace of the world, the basis of peace must be just and lasting and such as the United States could approve. Such a peace could only be brought about by general consent, and should not be imposed by force of arms upon vanquished nations. It should recognize the principle of nationality and the right of every people to political and economic freedom. To illustrate these general principles, the President specified as desirable the creation of a "united, independent, and autonomous Poland" and a general recognition that "the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free." If a satisfactory readjustment of international relations could be secured as a result of the war, the President was sure that America would not be backward in guaranteeing its permanence, since that would not be abandoning the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, but applying it to the whole world.

This address profoundly stirred the nation. Many even of President Wilson's political opponents found much to praise in it. Pacifists of all parties welcomed it as a most important diplomatic step and one much to the credit of the administration. This was not the famous "Fourteen-points" speech which played so large a part in the final settlement of the issues of the war at the Peace Conference in Paris in the winter and spring of 1919. The "Fourteen-points" speech was not made until January 8 of the following year, and was Wilson's answer to Germany's so-called peace offensive at Brest-Litovsk.

A week later came from Germany a note by the side of which all events in the trenches, and all discussion of peace possibilities in various parliaments. paled into insignificance. The world now had from Germany a new ultimatum in the form of a reply to the address of President Wilson in the Senate. Asserting that the main tendencies of the President's address as to peace corresponded largely with the desires and principles profest by Germany, and declaring that Germany's opponents had declined to accept these principles, the ultimatum proceeded to state that the German Government was now compelled to continue its fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all weapons that were at its disposal. Germany therefore announced that, on and after February 1, she would pursue what was popularly known as the von Tirpitz system of ruthless submarine warfare. Sea traffic was to be stopt "with every available weapon and without further notice," in what she defined as "blockade zones" about Great Britain, France, Italy and the eastern Mediterranean. Germany went so far in this extraordinary document as to issue instructions to the United States as to how American vessels should be marked by flags and painted with signs in order to avoid being torpedoed, and further, announced that the United States would be permitted to dispatch only one steamer a week in each direction to England, and only then when the point of destination was Falmouth, England. Moreover, this single weekly steamer would have to arrive "at Falmouth on Sunday and depart from Falmouth on Wednesday, taking a lane that Germany prescribed."

Germany's action in this matter was accepted as virtually a declaration of war against the whole world. Specifically it amounted to a declaration of war against the United States, unless the people of the United States were willing to take their instructions from Germany as to what ships they should send out on the high seas and how they should sail them, with death as an alternative. The new policy was a revival, with some added and more obnoxious details, of the policy Germany had declared in February, 1915, and against which President Wilson had protested by saying that Germany would be held to "strict accountability" if American rights were injured or American lives were lost. The President had then said the United States regarded such a policy as "an indefensible violation of neutral rights which it would be very hard indeed to reconcile with the friendly relations existing between the two Governments.[1]

The German Government now said it would torpedo every American ship found in this zone, other than one that was proceeding on a certain date over a route Germans had prescribed. In the same breath it had the audacity to assert that "the freedom of the seas has always formed part of the leading principles of Germany's political program." The note concluded with a hope that the United States would "view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality, and assist, on their part, to prevent further misery and unavoidable sacrifice of human life." This expectation from Germany that the United States would cheerfully put its merchant marine under the specific charge of the German Government would have been thought comic, had it not been so tragic, so utterly self-sufficient. Read after the return of peace, it seemed like a bit of German sarcasm, rather than a sober and determined statement of war policy by men still possest of sane minds. It had become clear to the Allies, moreover, that the Chancellor's peace bid of December 12 was merely a mask covering an ulterior purpose; that what the Chancellor really meant was, "Now be good and give us what we want, or you'll be sorry."

[1] Of this note, and other negotiations with Germany covering two years and pertaining to the sinking of the *Lusitania* and other ships on which American lives were lost, more detailed accounts are given in that part of this work which deals with the war on the sea. See Volume IX.

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THE NEW YORK PREPAREDNESS PARADE OF MAY, 1916

One of the earliest notable demonstrations of the growing popular conviction that a break with Germany was inevitable

A second memorandum which followed from the German embassy, on instructions from Berlin, said that Germany would meet the activities of her enemies by forcibly preventing, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England, and from and to France. "All ships met within that zone," said the memorandum, "will be sunk." The Imperial Government was confident that this measure would result "in a speedy termination of the war and in the restoration of peace which the Government of the United States has so much at heart"—a statement which to most Americans seemed still more a piece of sarcasm, or insolent irony rather than a grave diplomatic utterance.

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JAMES W. GERARD
American Ambassador to Germany until 1917

Three days later President Wilson sent to Count von Bernstorff his passports and recalled the American Ambassador, Mr. Gerard, from Berlin—an act which met with much popular approval. When Bernstorff learned that he was to go home he said: "I am not surprized. My Government will not be surprized either. The people of Berlin knew what was bound to happen if they took the action they have taken"—a statement seen later to have been strictly true. Germany really believed she could starve England before the United States could become effective, should we choose to go to war, and hence Germany was safe in defying us. President Wilson told Congress on February 3 that the United States Government had announced, after the sinking of the *Sussex*, that it would break off diplomatic relations with Germany unless she abandoned certain features of her submarine warfare. As she had now declared her purpose

to resume these methods—in fact was greatly to intensify and extend them—our Ambassador at Berlin had been recalled and passports had been handed to the German Ambassador at Washington. President Wilson had informed Germany that if American ships and American lives should again be sacrificed by German submarine commanders "in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity," he would go again before the Congress and ask that authority be given him to use any means that might be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas.

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FREDERICK CORTLAND PENFIELD
American Ambassador to Austria-Hungary until 1917

Germany's action as to submarine warfare was interpreted in neutral countries as in one sense due to her having virtually reached the end of her land victories. Brusiloff's advance in 1916 had been stopt only after a pro-German minister, Protopopoff, had become the Russian Minister of the Interior and virtually master of the Government, just as the year before the Grand Duke Nicholas, like Brusiloff, had swept all before him, only to find, when he got into the enemy's territory, that another pro-German minister, Sukhomlinoff, had deprived him of ammunition and other supplies. Germany had been able to keep up the illusion of victory for a while longer when Roumania, in the late autumn of 1916, dashed gayly and light-headedly into the eagle's talons, but meanwhile she had found it impossible to defeat her real adversaries. It had been easy enough to grab little kingdoms and conquer them—easy in the case of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, easy in the case of

Roumania, when Germany had Bulgaria, Austria and Turkey to help her, but her people at home were losing faith in the fiction of an irresistible and all-conquering Imperialism, based on successful invasions of four small kingdoms, each having only a minor fraction of her own military resources. With the supply of Roumanias, Serbias, Montenegros, and Belgiums exhausted, Germany at last saw around her the real adversaries whom she had to overcome; they had been growing continually and were now stronger than she was. She saw that the Turks could not long resist the Russians and the British; that she must give up her foremost line in France; that her allies in the Petrograd Government would not last much longer; that, in several trials of strength on the Western Front, she had failed to reach any success that suggested an ultimate decision in her favor; on the contrary, she had had terrible losses on the Somme.

In these conditions Germany proposed that peace be arranged in secret around a table at which the shrewdest manipulator would come off best. When the Allies refused to be drawn into her trap and announced their peace terms openly, a complete discomfiture came to the German plan and Germany had to put forth a second plan which meant that she had cut loose from the restrictions of civilized warfare and declared a war of "frightfulness" on all the world, in the hope that by starving England she could halt the Allied military operations before spring was far advanced. She had thus far failed completely in her effort to starve England, and her submarine war had become less terrible as it went on, altho it was still terrible enough.

Meanwhile the Allied military operations she had hoped to check had not been checked. The British had taken Bagdad and were pursuing the demoralized Turks into the jaws of the Grand Duke Nicholas's army, which was coming on from Persia without serious opposition and driving another Turkish army before it. Defeat for the Turks was certain; the only question was whether it would involve the capture of Turkey as well. In the west the Germans had retired to the Aisne, giving up before the Allied spring drive began more than Joffre and Haig had aimed at in their Somme campaign. On the 1,300-mile Russian front the weather still

held armies fast bound; but the commander of those armies, Brusiloff, no longer was in fear of a ministerial traitor in his rear at Petrograd. The events which Germany foresaw in December, the events which prompted her haughty but anxious offer of peace, and her desperate swing loose from the bonds of civilization on the sea were moving more swiftly even than her statesmen had expected. They had expected to give up the Ancre sometime, but not in March; they had expected to lose their Petrograd alliance, but not in one day.

The destruction by a German submarine of the Cunard passenger-steamship *Laconia*, off the coast of Ireland, on February 25, violated every principle of humanity and almost every principle of international law for which the American Government in its written statements to Germany had contended. If this were not an overt act of the kind which the President had in mind when he broke off diplomatic relations, and said he would go to Congress in case further hostilities were committed against us by Germany, it was difficult to say what would meet any definition of the term. The *Laconia* was sunk in the night, without warning, by two torpedoes from a German submarine. She was a merchant ship and carried many passengers, including women and children. In the crew were ten or more Americans. Two Americans were among the dead, while one other of the dead was believed to have been a naturalized American.

The story of the disaster was pitiful and moving. Seventy-three passengers, men, women, and children, were startled at half-past ten at night by the sudden lurching of the ship as the first torpedo struck. Forty minutes later the *Laconia* went down. There was time only to lower and fill the boats with no delay for provisions or extra clothing. The sea was running high, the water was icy cold, the danger to small boats imminent. The submarine which had committed this act appeared on the surface, and its officer, in cold blood, left the boats to themselves, after saying that they might expect to be picked up by a British patrol-boat. The loss of life was occasioned chiefly by the overturning of one boat. Those who were thus cast into the sea were rescued by other boats, when in a desperate condition, some of them in a

dying state.[2] Since the war began 230 Americans had now gone to their deaths through German and Austrian submarine operations. Most of them were traveling on unarmed merchant ships and, under the practises of International law and humanity, believed themselves secure.

On February 21 the Associated press was able to reveal that Germany, in planning unrestricted submarine warfare and counting its consequences, had proposed an alliance with Mexico and Japan in order to make war on the United States provided this country did not remain neutral. Japan, through Mexican mediation, was to be urged to abandon her Entente Allies and join in an attack on the United States. Mexico, for her reward, was to receive general financial support from Germany and was to reconquer Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona—her "lost provinces"—and was to share in the victorious peace terms that Germany expected to impose. Details were left to the German Minister von Eckhardt in Mexico City, who, by instructions signed by the German Foreign Minister Zimmermann in Berlin on January 19, 1917, was directed to propose this alliance with Mexico to General Carranza. These instructions had been transmitted to Eckhardt through Count von Bernstorff, the former German Ambassador, then on his way home to Germany under a safe conduct obtained from Great Britain by this country. Germany pictured to Mexico, by broad intimation, that Great Britain and the Entente were defeated, Germany and her allies triumphant and secure in world dominion by the instrument of unrestricted submarine warfare. A copy of Zimmermann's instructions, as sent through von Bernstorff, was in the possession of the United States Government. It read as follows:

"On the first of February we intend to begin unrestricted submarine warfare, notwithstanding this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America. If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico. That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and

[2] Floyd P. Gibbons in The Chicago *Tribune*. Mr. Gibbons was a passenger on the *Laconia*.

Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement. You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence to this plan. At the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan. Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine war-

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AFTER THE "IVERNIA" WAS TORPEDOED

This occurred in the Mediterranean January 1, 1917, the *Ivernia* being a Cunarder. She was commanded by Captain Turner, who was captain of the *Lusitania* when she was sunk

fare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months."

Herr Zimmermann, in a published statement to the press, made before the Reichstag, defended this letter on the ground that if Germany was in danger of war with the United States it behooved Germany to "find new allies." Many Americans recalled that only a few weeks after Zimmermann's note was sent to Mexico, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg had exprest in the Reichstag the high value Germany set on the friendship of the United States as "an heirloom from Frederick the Great." Zimmermann spoke of "right and duty" as having dictated an alliance with Carranza, in case of war between Germany and this country,

but this was using a process or reasoning which had underlain the German invasion of Belgium, the sinking of the *Lusitania,* and the deportation of the Belgians. His logical process was not hard to follow. His German mind reasoned that Germany was at war, that war is fought in order to be won; that everything which contributed to victory was therefore justified, and that omission of any act tending to victory would be in a German statesman a betrayal of his right and duty. Zimmermann was the man who, after the war, when he read reports of the probable Entente peace terms, remarked, "We supposed we were dealing with gentlemen."

Reasoning of this sort, in its broad aspects, was not essentially different from the principles on which other Governments proceeded, but it was different in the merciless completeness with which Berlin applied it. The German Government had become a victim of its own policy of "thorough." It had lost sense of proportion in morals as in practical wisdom. Since it thought it was necessary for German armies to march through Belgium, therefore right and duty had dictated to it the assault on Liége, Louvain, and Dinant. Beyond that German logic could not go or see. It did not see, or it chose to overlook, the power of Great Britain and the anger which its acts would arouse in the neutral world. It had argued that, since American munitions were being used against the soldiers of the Fatherland, therefore the *Lusitania* had to be destroyed. If it was a right and duty to sink a freighter with tens of thousands of shells in her hold, it was also a right and duty to sink anything that had shells on board or was supposed to have them. But the *Lusitania* carried no shells. No attempt was made to strike a balance between the ammunition suspected to be in the *Lusitania's* cargo and the number of men, women and children known to be in her cabins. Nor was any attempt made, from the point of view of cold reason, to strike a balance between the military advantage of the destruction of the *Lusitania* and the military disadvantage of arousing an outraged America to take sides against Germany. The mere necessity for it was the compelling German argument. Germany could not see why any nation fighting for self-preservation was not justified in picking up any

weapon of defense that lay ready to hand; its mind did not grasp the fact that, even in the matter of self-preservation, there are acts against which the soul of man rebels. Germans forgot that the soul has its claims against logic, that there are things which even great States must not do, and doing, do at their peril.

That same lack of sense of proportion, that application of mechanical reasoning to great world questions, appeared in Zimmermann's proposed overtures of Germany to Mexico and Japan. What German statesmen failed to recognize was the enormous risk they were taking in order to gain at best a puny advantage. On the one hand, they would have secured the mobilization of several thousand American troops on the Mexican border; on the other, the wrath of a nation which could bring forward against Germany fiftyfold the money, munitions and men that Carranza could draw from us against herself. And besides there was always the chance of a discovery of the scheme before actual war came, and that was actually what did come to pass. It was a case again of mechanistic German logic working without any appreciation of what Bismarck called, and set great value on, the "imponderables." Germany once more was the victim of her own "efficiency" as applied with thoroughness and determination, but with a minimum of mentality. Perhaps even she, as well as the neutral word, would some day be able to see that, as a writer of old times has said, "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong."

Germany, however, may have had greater hopes of alarming the timid element in America than of forming an alliance with Mexico and Japan, since the German mind accords much real power in the bogey man. The result in any case was to clear the minds and rouse the spirit of such men in this country as had not already recognized the fact that Germany was already warring against the United States, and that to yield to her demands would be to make a weak and foolish surrender. Even German-American papers found it hard to defend Germany's action in this matter. Some actually attacked it, while others argued that she was justified from military and international points of view, but most admitted that Zimmermann had shown himself

possest of mediocre diplomatic ability. Even Count Zu Reventlow, the most inflexible of Junker journalists, discerned that American sentiment, hitherto divided, "was now solidly behind the President." A survey of the daily American press undertaken by the *Literary Digest* confirmed the accuracy of this Berlin judgment. It was notably true of the Middle West, which had not fully shared the indignation aroused in our Eastern population by the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Many in that section had argued that, if Americans chose to risk their lives by sailing on British ships, it was their own affair; the country should not go to war merely for them. But when the Zimmermann note came out, even the Middle West saw that the time for war had come. Besides unifying sentiment all over the country, the Zimmermann note proved a real eye-opener. "Let us be grateful to Zimmermann," said the *New York Tribune*, "for he has contributed largely to our knowledge and understanding of the German method and the German idea." Unwittingly, he had performed what the New York *Journal of Commerce* called "a service of lasting value to the cause of humanity in the revelation made of German perfidy and mendacity—of the impossibility of any civilized power living on terms of amity with such a Government."

Not even the disclosure of Germany's plot to involve Mexico in war with us was able, however, to prevent a little group of obstructionists in the United States Senate from talking to death at this time a bill giving power to President Wilson to arm merchant ships. This extraordinary procedure occurred on March 4 in the last hours of the life of the Sixty-fourth Congress, when the bill had already passed the House of Representatives by an enormous majority (403 to 13), and, when 76 Senators (more than two-thirds of the entire Senate), had signed a document expressing their willingness and desire to vote for the measure. Under the rules of the Senate, which practically put it into the power of a few Senators, or perhaps a single Senator, to delay action so long that a vote became impossible in the closing days of a session, the will of the people, of the President, and of both branches of Congress was defeated. President Wilson, in a public statement just after the adjournment of Congress,

declared with indignation that "a little group of wilful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible."

The little group included five Democrats and seven Republicans. Some of these declared afterward that they were not opposed to the passage of a bill permitting the President to arm ships, but that they were opposed to certain provisions of the bill in question. This, for instance, was the defense made by Senator O'Gorman, of New York. Senator Stone, of Missouri, and Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, who were concerned in the obstruction. Men who regarded Germany's actual and avowed attitude toward our citizens on the high seas as one of virtual warfare saw in these filibusterers men who, in the very moment of attack, had snatched a weapon of defense from the hand of their Government. Those, on the other hand, who regarded armed neutrality as an invitation to war rather than a defense against it, and who considered no price too high if it brought peace, did not hesitate to make dark allusions to British gold, to a subsidized press, and to the greed of munition-makers.

ALFRED ZIMMERMANN

Colonel Henry Watterson's Louisville *Courier-Journal* consigned the obstructionists to an "eternity of execration," and the *Chicago Herald* saw them "damned to everlasting fame." One of the Senators was hanged in effigy in a State near his own. Another received as a gift thirty pieces of silver. To a third was sent from his own State an iron cross weighing forty pounds made by a blacksmith and bearing an inscription, "Lest the Kaiser forget." State legislatures passed resolutions of condemnation similar in intention

to that of the Kentucky Senate, which denounced filibusterers as "disloyal, traitorous, and cowardly." At a patriotic mass-meeting held in New York under the auspices of the American Rights League, the venerable Lyman Abbott was greeted with roars of approval when he called the filibustering Senators "Germany's allies," saying "Germany has made and is making war upon America and her allies in the United States Senate have violated the unwritten law of all honorable assemblages. They have violated their trust to their country and have done their best to deprive us of our rightful protection." "Traitors! Hang them!" shouted back men in the audience. Whatever may have been the motives of the filibusterers, their action evoked much enthusiasm in the German press. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* hailed them as "fine Americans who remained uncontaminated by Wilson's blind devotion to England." On Senator Stone and Senator La Follette special condemnation was bestowed for having helped to frustrate what critics called President Wilson's plan to "wrest from Congress privileges vested in it by the Constitution."

This episode was often cited afterward, by friends of Mr. Wilson, as justification for his course in dealing with Germany after the *Lusitania* was sunk—a period now of almost two years. Had Mr. Wilson sent Bernstorff home in May, 1915, and had he asked Congress to declare war on Germany when the *Arabic* was sunk three months afterward, it was clear to many minds that the country would not have been with him—and notably the Middle West would not. That he had been wise in delaying action until he was certain of support from the whole country the filibustering episode made clearer. When at last war was declared, what remained of a former rather formidable group of pacifists had been rapidly dwindling into a scattered body of ineffective and helpless apologists for their own acts.

What President Wilson would do in the emergency raised by the Senate remained for some days in doubt. At last, by advice from official sources, he decided that merchant ships should be armed even tho the bill had failed. War "within a month" was predicted by former Attorney General Wickersham as a result of arming our merchant ships.

"Thrilling events may follow shortly," said the *Cleveland Leader,* for "any day may witness a fight to the death between a German submarine and an American ship carrying guns supplied by the United States Navy and manned by naval gunners," and Germany "would doubtless declare war." Germany's attitude was disclosed by Foreign Secretary Zimmermann: "We are determined to carry through the submarine war to the end," said he, "and have spoken our last word; the decision is in President Wilson's hands." The President's act "will cause a thrill of patriotic enthusiasm throughout the land," said the Philadelphia *Public Ledger.* He "has done right and acted wisely," remarked the *Utica Press;* while the Albany *Knickerbocker Press* believed his action "well considered and thoroughly justified." The *Boston Herald* hoped there would be "no further faltering." The *Springfield Republican* put the case in these words: "Either the United States must stay on the seas or get off the seas; if it is to stay on the seas further delay in arming merchantmen can scarcely be tolerated."

On March 12 "armed neutrality" became the settled purpose of the Government. All the world was to be officially informed of it as soon as notifications delivered to the Embassies and Legations of Foreign Governments represented in Washington could be transmitted. The German Government was to be notified through the Swiss Government, which was representing German interests in the United States. The formal notice read as follows:

"In view of the announcements of the Imperial German Government on January 31, 1917, that all ships, those of neutrals included, met within certain zones of the high seas, would be sunk without any precaution taken for the safety of the persons on board, and without the exercise of visit and search, the Government of the United States has determined to place upon all American merchant vessels sailing through the barred areas an armed guard for the protection of the vessels and the lives of the persons on board."

By repeated acts Germany thus created a state of war between herself and the United States. Her acts in fact were not to be looked upon as provocation to war; they were war itself. Reports came late in March of the sinking of three

more American ships by German submarines—the *Vigilancia*, the *City of Memphis*, and the *Illinois*, two of which were westward bound in ballast. All were trading vessels of American ownership and registry and manned by Americans. Some parts of the crews were saved but many men were missing. The destruction of these ships, after the warnings we had given by word and act, dispelled all doubt as to Germany's intentions. It was impossible longer to entertain a belief that she would try to avoid war with the United States. She was firing upon our ships, she was sinking them, and destroying or endangering the lives of our citizens, which was the essence of war, such acts being incompatible with a wish to avoid it.

When German U-boats had thus added five to their already heavy toll of American lives, official Washington realized that we had passed, by the inexorable logic of events, from "armed neutrality" to "a state of war." That was the view taken by the Cabinet in its meeting of March 20. The following day the President issued a second call to Congress to meet on April 2, two weeks earlier than the date named in his first summons, "to receive a communication concerning grave matters of national policy which should be taken immediately under consideration." These "grave matters" related to Germany's attacks upon American ships and American citizens. A state of war between Germany and the United States actually existed, said Vice-President Marshall in a speech at Montgomery, Ala., on the 20th. This opinion was echoed by Charles E. Hughes, Elihu Root, and Theodore Roosevelt. "There is now a state of war, and the people of the United States should recognize the fact." said Mr. Hughes. "Germany is making war on us and our reply must be either war or submission," affirmed Mr. Root. Colonel Roosevelt, after pointing out that Germany "had steadily waged war upon us" ever since her declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare on January 31, added: "Let us face the accomplished fact, admit that Germany is at war with us, and in turn wage war on Germany with all our energy and courage and regain the right to look the whole world in the eyes without flinching."

More than twenty American ships had now been attacked

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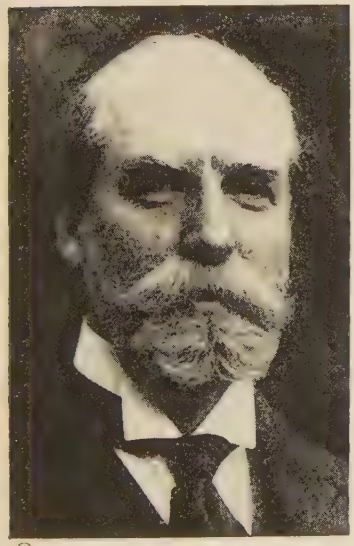
THEODORE ROOSEVELT



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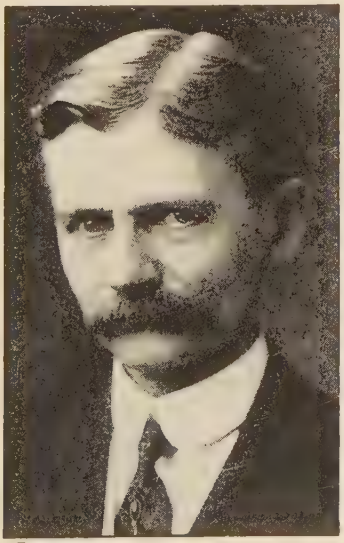
CHARLES E. HUGHES



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VICE-PRES. THOMAS MARSHALL

FOUR SUPPORTERS OF A DECLARATION OF WAR

by German and Austrian submarines and other Teutonic commerce raiders since the outbreak of the war, according to data compiled at the State Department. Ten had been destroyed by submarines, one, the *William P. Frye,* by the German converted cruiser and raider *Prinz Eitel Freidrich,* and one, the *Cushing,* by a German airship. On March 23 survivors of an American oil-steamship, the *Healdton,* sunk by a German submarine, arrived at Rotterdam. Seven Americans had perished. The captain described how he had been in his cabin when aroused by a terrific concussion. All the lights went out and he rushed on deck to stop the engines only to find that a torpedo had gone through amidships at the spot where the ship's name was illuminated brightly, and had wrecked the engine-room. The light clearly had served as a target. He rushed back to the cabin in the dark and was just able to grab a coat and his sextant before a second explosion shook the ship. This time it had been torpedoed aft, setting the tanks ablaze. Burning oil ran in all directions. The *Healdton* was settling fast by the stern. One or two men never came up. The submarine came forward at once and was facing the sinking ship but no men could be seen on the submarine. She soon dived under the water again. In twenty minutes all was over. Then came twelve hours in open boats, every one insufficiently clad, and exposed to bitter hail and snow until picked up by the trawler *Java.* According to the captain's calculations he was well within the so-called safe channel when the *Healdton* was torpedoed. Two sloops with thirteen and seven men respectively, succeeded in getting away, but the third, containing twenty-one men, capsized and nearly all were drowned.

The *Healdton* was an American ship; she was flying an American flag, and in her crew were thirteen American citizens. Without warning she was torpedoed twenty-five miles off the coast of Holland, outside the German barred zone and within the limits of the safety-zone. A score of human lives were lost. The act was one of the cumulative provocations that could make no change in our growing resolve to take up arms against Germany, save that it would stir the American people to a firmer determination. The

only adequate explanation of Germany's behavior, the only one that really explained, was the assumption that she was afflicted with some hitherto unobserved and monstrous variety of rabies.[3]

[3] Principal Sources: *The Independent, The Outlook,* New York; The Chicago *Tribune;* The *Times,* The *Evening Post,* The *Literary Digest,* New York; Associated Press dispatches.

THE HOSTILE GERMAN U-53 THAT CAME TO AMERICA IN 1916

In the period when relations between the United States and Germany were growing more and more critical, but six months before we declared war on Germany, the German U-53 suddenly made its appearance in Newport Harbor and off Nantucket on October 8, sank the Newfoundland liner *Stephano* and some smaller boats, the result as to marine insurance rates being that they were advanced about 500 per cent. It was not until the late summer and autumn of 1918 that *U*-boats again visited the Atlantic coast. Both visits were accepted at the time as German efforts to repress the war spirit in the United States

II

"A STATE OF WAR" WITH GERMANY DECLARED

April 2, 1917—April 6, 1917

THUS in the first two months of Germany's unrestricted and intensified submarine warfare—the period ending on March 31—several "overt acts" against the United States had been committed by her—in February, when the Cunarder *Laconia* was sunk and two Americans lost; in March when four American ships—the *Vigilancia,* the *City of Memphis, Illinois,* and *Healdton*—went down, involving the loss of several more American lives. Since the war began some twenty-five American ships had been sunk by the Teutonic powers, fifteen of them by submarines. On these and on belligerent passenger-ships, including the *Lusitania,* more than 230 Americans had perished—many of them women and children. When Congress assembled in special session on April 2, in response to the President's summons, the whole country was stirred to the depths by these acts of war and looked eagerly for a formal declaration by Congress that war existed with Germany. Congress had scarcely begun its session—indeed, President Wilson was on his way to the Capitol to read his address—when news was printed that another American ship, the freighter *Aztec,* had been torpedoed at the entrance to the English Channel, and that 28 of her crew were missing. Nothing at that time could have prevented a prompt declaration except a decision by Germany to discontinue her unrestricted submarine warfare, and that she failed to make. The Senate on April 4, by a vote of 82 to 6, the House on April 6, by a vote of 373 to 50, passed the declaration.

Impressive scenes marked the assembling of Congress on April 2. Streets and public places in Washington were thronged with visitors, thousands of them clamorous for war; others, in

considerable number pacifists, to whom no patient hearing was granted anywhere. One of the latter came from Massachusetts, and, in a corridor of the Senate wing of the Capitol, assaulted with ill-timed words Senator Lodge of that State, who speedily knocked him down. Outside the Capitol probably 50,000 citizens witnessed the arrival and departure of the President, and, during the delivery of his address, echoed with cheers the sounds of applause that came through the open windows of the Capitol. A squadron of cavalry had escorted the President along Pennsylvania

AMERICANS ENLISTING IN PARIS
The street shown is the Place de l'Opera, these enlistments taking place soon after we declared war

Avenue, now brilliantly lighted, the hour being 8 P.M., while from every window fronting the avenue fluttered the national flag. The President entered the Capitol through troops of cavalry crowded within the shadow of the great white dome, the building elsewhere bathed in a flood of moonlight that brought out every feature of its architecture and from the top of which the figure of Liberty flourished the flag and a torch of gold.

No more thrilling scene was ever witnessed in Congress than the one now seen. The only persons who did not join in storms of applause that broke out at frequent intervals were the Entente and neutral diplomats who were restrained by official etiquette from cheering, and Senators La Follette of Wisconsin, Stone of Missouri, and Lane of Oregon, three of the "wilful men" who, by filibustering on March 4 in the previous Congress, had helped to defeat the Armed Neutrality Bill. Visitors in the galleries, who are ordinarily prohibited from participating in any demonstration made on the floor of the House, chorused in with ringing patriotic cheers, waved their hand flags vigorously and provided every other form of indorsement that was possible. During the tense thirty-eight minutes occupied by the President in reading his address, there occurred scenes the like of which probably had never been seen in any modern legislative chamber. No one could have fully realized that the nation still had two political parties. Observers felt that the President, while reading his address, did not know how thoroughly the whole country not only sympathized with him in the great crisis, but voiced its sincere determination to support him, until he had heard the cheers that greeted a later passage as he delivered it slowly, almost haltingly at times, but with deep emphasis, as follows:

"With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking, and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and People of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war."

After the President had completed his address, Senator Lodge went forward and shook his hand warmly, saying: "Mr. President, you have exprest in the loftiest manner possible the sentiments of the American people." Every one of the Supreme Court Judges rose to his feet. Chief Justice

White smiled and vigorously clapped his hands, as did Justices Pitney and Clarke. As Lincoln said that this Republic could not exist half slave and half free, so in this issue had men perceived that the world could not exist half German and half free. We, as well as the Entente, had now for our task to put an end to the barbarous doctrine of a superior race and to the assertion that German necessity was above all law. For thirty-two months German armies had been

OUTSIDE THE MANSION HOUSE IN LONDON
Here the American flag was put out alongside the British soon after we declared war on Germany

going up and down Europe destroying the beautiful, abusing the weak, murdering the helpless, transforming some of the most beautiful places and regions in the world into deserts. Germans had harnessed science to barbarism and called it "Kultur." They had joined organization to ruthlessness and called it "civilization." The United States could not now pause until Poland had been restored, Serbia liberated, Rou-

mania freed, Belgium returned to her own people, Alsace-Lorraine reunited to France, conspicuous symbols of German tyranny now to be obliterated. All these tyrannies were the handiwork of Germany written on the face of Europe. This country had enlisted, not in a war against the German people, but against a doctrine which the German people held to, and with the German people there could be no peace so long as they held to that doctrine. Our action was regarded as the natural sequence of Lexington.

Berlin, on receipt of the President's address, still declared that there would be no change in the German submarine policy, not even if Congress should adopt the President's views. Germany, moreover, would not declare war, nor would she take any step to wage war against the United States. The submarine war would be continued, as it had been conducted since February 1, but this, officials asserted, was not directed more against the United States than against any other neutral. Nor would there be any change in the treatment of American citizens in Germany, who still had the same freedom as all other neutrals.

A great storm of applause was evoked in the British House of Commons when first mention was made of the address. From the Prime Minister down, all ranks were stirred to the depths. They believed the President had given to Democracy an impetus which would carry it far toward shortening a war which was threatening to drag practically the whole world down to the point of ruin. No other subject was discust in the lobby of Parliament. The United States had gained immensely in prestige, had won a lasting friend and would now have a seat at the peace table. Her voice would be heard in all the Allied councils over post-war trade relations. All agreed that the war had been greatly shortened—not so much by the material assistance America would give, important as that was, as by the blow she had given to the morale of the German people. To Frenchmen, America's intervention appeared as the third big Allied event of the war. The battle of the Marne was the first; the Russian revolution was the second, and America's action the third. It was even greater than the stand made by France at Verdun.

German papers commented on the message bitterly. The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, in a leading article, described it as "opening in untruth, continuing in hypocrisy, and ending in blasphemy." The Berlin *Morgen Post* remarked that "just as the whole policy of this professor was insincere, insidious, and malicious from the beginning, so also was this speech with which he tried to plunge and had plunged his people into war." Perhaps no part of the message caused greater annoyance to the German press than the careful differentiation made between America's hostility to the German Government as distinct from its hostility to the German people. The semi-official Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger* thought it "impossible that the ruler of a nation who has at his disposal the reports of his Ambassador and numerous other sources of information regarding the events of the early part of August, 1914, in Berlin, should really believe that this war was not begun with the assent of the German people."

The *Hannoverische Courier* was inclined to doubt the President's veracity, and even went so far as to suggest a similar thought to its readers by heading its editorial "Wilson Lies." It remarked that the President "concealed his wolf nature in a sheep's clothing of peace." His acts and notes "always breathed so much hypocrisy and love of misrepresentation that it was not difficult to recognize his spiritual kinship to Great Britain." His declaration of war was "alike dishonorable, impudent, and stupid." The *Kölnische Zeitung* thought us "less dangerous as an open enemy than as a neutral." It expected no results because "the American army is not sufficient even to defeat Mexico." The American declaration was "nothing but a gigantic bluff designed to save the sinking British friend, and the billions with which the Entente horse has been backed." The organ of the Krupp firm, the Essen *Rheinisch-Westfalische Zeitung*, thought the war would be over before our troops could appear on the scene, altho if we should arrive in time a cordial welcome was assured us. Fresh ship-loads of ammunition could not go from America to England "because submarines bar the way." New American gold would be thrown into the scales, "but we counter with a war-loan." The American fleet could not perform what the so-called ocean-dominat-

ing British fleet had been unable to achieve. Submarines would continue "to hold England by the throat." A common remark among Germans was that America had only "a wooden sword."

Captain Persius, however, writing in the Berlin *Tageblatt,* criticized those who treated America's entry into the war lightly. "It would be a fatal mistake," he said, "to regard America's economic strength as the only important factor for an enemy." The military strength of the United States was not to be "met with a shrug of the shoulders." Otherwise Germany would "make the same mistake as we did about the military strength of Britain." Otto Hoetsch, a prominent political writer, in the *Kreuz Zeitung,* contended that Germany had a perfect right to make her own international law as far as submarines are concerned, and also in regard to neutrals, for whose future interests Germany was fighting. He charged that America had never been neutral from the beginning of the war, which would have been over long before if America had not abetted the Entente. Germany, in trying to avoid a conflict, had "played into the hands of her opponents." He blamed the German Embassy in Washington for this. It was "the weakest spot in the whole diplomatic service." Apart from its glaring mistakes, the Embassy "lacked an understanding of American psychology, the best proof of this being the failure of the whole German propaganda." The writer declared that it was "to the Kaiser's lasting merit that he made every effort to hold America's friendship." As for the German-Americans, they "must realize that the Fatherland had been deeply disappointed in them."

The *Volks Zeitung,* of Cologne, after abusing President Wilson, declared that Germany was "entitled to a thumping war indemnity from America, since other States, which had sacrificed immense sums, would be unable to pay it." Therefore, America, "which has earned thousands and millions through munitions and supplies, will have to unbutton its pockets." The *Frankfurter Zeitung* freely admitted that "saber rattling had been to a large extent the cause of world-wide hostility toward Germany." "History will condemn this deed of a stubborn fanatic," said the semi-official

Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger,* which also remarked that President Wilson's assertion that the war was not against the German people but against the German Government would not "lessen German anger, because it is untrue and dishonest, and Wilson knows it." On this point the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* said that "efforts to dissociate the German Government from the people are perfidious," and the statement that the Kaiser started the war for dynastic reasons "apparently was made at England's command." The same paper regretfully recalled that "German policy had considered it the right thing to refuse to consider a 'Bryan treaty,' such as England and other Powers concluded with the United States," for, "if such a treaty existed to-day the United States would be in duty bound, before breaking off relations, to submit the question in controversy to a commission which could take at least a year to reach a verdict." The *Tageblatt* pointed out that Mr. Wilson's decision would be of more far-reaching consquence to the United States than to Germany, for "once for all, the Monroe Doctrine is done with, and so is the policy of avoidance of entangling alliances."

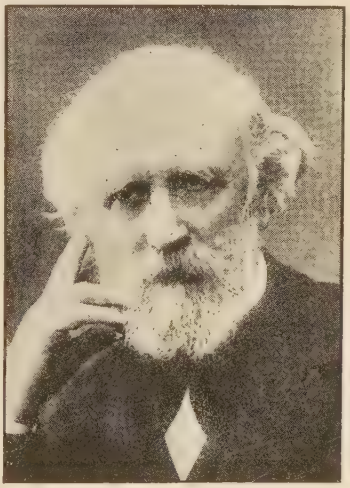
In sharp contrast to these bitter comments found in the German press was the enthusiastic approval of English and French journals and their unrestrained admiration for President Wilson, whose action, according to the London *Times,* was "an event to influence the destiny of mankind on both sides of the Atlantic for a generation to come." It added that no greater action, except the war itself, had happened since the French Revolution "shattered the traditions of feudalism in Europe." The cause in which America had drawn the sword and the grounds on which the President justified the momentous step he had taken were "auguries that the final outcome would be for the happiness and welfare of mankind." That paper doubted if in all history "a great community has ever been summoned to war on grounds so largely ideal." If the President's speech meant anything, said the London *Daily Express,* it meant that "America will never treat with the Kaiser and will resolutely oppose any peace that leaves the Hohenzollerns on the German throne." The London *Morning Post* singled

out the President's point that the continued existence of a German military autocracy was totally incompatible with future peace, and said that the President and the American people "serve the world's highest interest by proving that there is such a thing as the solidarity of civilization." Mr. Lloyd George declared that America had "at one bound become a world power." In behalf of the British War Cabinet, he recognized "the chivalry and courage which called the people of the United States to dedicate the whole of their resources to the greatest cause that ever engaged human endeavor." Mr. Asquith welcomed the day when "the two great English-speaking Democracies can rejoice together as fellow-workers and fellow-combatants for the triumph of freedom and for right." Bonar Law declared Mr. Wilson's message "a fitting pendant to the revolution which has brought the Russian people within the circle of free nations," and added, "It is when America throws her weight into the scale that the end becomes certain."

France was no less eager to welcome her new ally. President Poincaré, in a cable-letter to President Wilson, said: "The war would not have reached its final import had not the United States been led by the enemy himself to take part in it." M. Hanotaux declared that the gravest of the errors of autocracy in this war was to have so acted as "to bring America into the war at the moment when it enters upon its most decisive phase." Paris dispatches reported Premier Ribot as saying to American press correspondents, on April 4: "It is a red-letter day for us" and "a memorable day in your history and in the history of the world." Jules Cambon, Secretary-General of the Foreign Office, said the President's message was "a great battle won from Germany." He was convinced that it would "shorten the war considerably." Rome dispatches said the news was received with rejoicing by the Italian people. America's action had raised them to "the highest pitch of enthusiasm." When the news was heard in Petrograd, at the Tauride Palace, where the Council of Soldiers and Workingmen's Deputies was in session, it "evoked a storm of applause and soon the entire palace echoed with shouts and cheers." Dispatches quoted Foreign Minister Miliukoff as saying: "The

ideal side of the war is once more emphasized by the intervention of America."

Within twenty-four hours there came over London a remarkable change of opinion as to the length of the war. There was in some quarters a somewhat general belief, or hope, that peace might be only a matter of weeks. America had launched an offensive without using a man or a gun that would prove powerful enough to convince Germany that it would be well to end hostilities. She could not fail to consider the force which America had brought to bear against her as something as effective as five, ten, or twenty divisions of men. Many Britons talked of peace by May or June, with the maximum forecast fixing November as the final month of hostilities. Friday, April 20, was set apart in London as "America Day." The Stars and Stripes were on that day unfurled from the great Victoria Tower of the Houses of Parliament. The British Government also gave instructions that the Stars and Stripes should be flown beside the Union Jack on that day from as many public buildings as possible. The sale of American flags in London became so enormous that many dealers were soon sold out.



ALEXANDRE RIBOT
French Premier after Viviani and Briand, and before Painlevé and Clemenceau

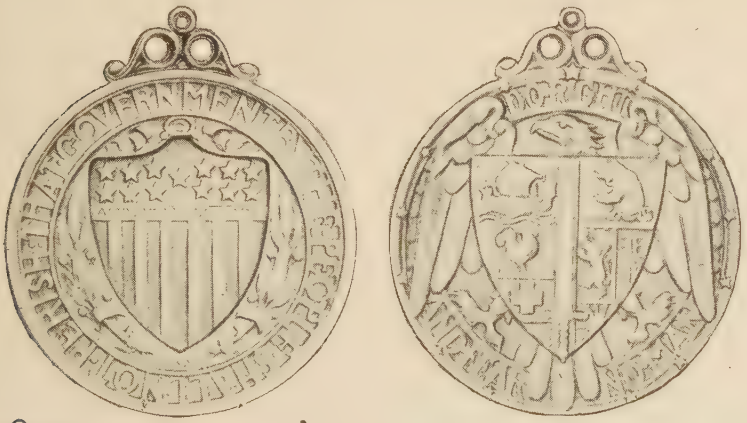
With the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack fluttering fraternally on April 20 from the same flagstaff at the top of the Victoria Tower at Westminster, where in all the long history of the Mother of Parliaments hitherto no flag other than the British had ever been hoisted; with the King and Queen and other notable representatives of the British realm listening to an inspired oration by an American Bishop in St. Paul's Cathedral on President Lincoln's text that ballots, not bullets, are the true weapons of Democracy; with Ameri-

can flags everywhere gaily flying in the bright sunshine of England's first spring day, and with crowds in the streets cheering heartily for the representatives of the United States, "America Day" in London became a great day. "A solemn service to Almighty God on the occasion of the entry of the United States of America into the great war for freedom" was the official description of the function at St. Paul's, attended by their Majesties, the King and Queen, and the American Ambassador. About 4,000 persons were accommodated in the cathedral, the congregation including, besides a large number of Americans, a representative gathering of English men and women of light and leading. There were also present a number of Americans who, by fighting in the Canadian ranks, had already shed their blood in the cause of freedom. Official representatives of Canada and the other British colonies were there in full strength, together with the diplomatic corps of most of the Allies in the Entente.

In Paris the Stars and Stripes were put out to wave side by side with Allied flags. Nothing else was discust in the press. Premier Ribot in opening the Chamber of Deputies read a formal salutation to America. Paris newspapers got out their biggest type, their most jubilant "make-up," to express the general rejoicing. Great interest was exprest in the possibility of an American Expeditionary Force soon to be seen on the Western Front in France—and as to Roosevelt's expected division. Géneviève Vix, a popular Paris singer, cabled to Colonel Roosevelt at Oyster Bay, asking that he accept an American flag stitched by women of France and to be carried as the standard of the first battalion raised under his command.

The President's address caused a greater sensation in Rome than any other event since the beginning of the conflict. Rejoicing was noticeable all through the city. People eagerly read newspapers containing dispatches from Washington, which were featured in big type. Everybody felt that America's decision to take part in the war on the side of the Allies was the greatest moral defeat yet sustained by the Central Empires, and that it would soon be followed by a material one.

By the third week in April hundreds of thousands of copies of President Wilson's address, printed in German, as an enterprise of the New York *World,* each in a little pamphlet with the American flag in red, white, and blue at the top, were on their way to all French aviation-stations along the front from St. Quentin to the Swiss frontier, ready to be scattered over the German lines by Allied aviators and scattered in the streets of German cities and towns within flying radius. French, British, and Belgian War Offices had given permission for their aviators to carry and drop them. The pamphlets were of four pages, measur-



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AN AMERICAN WAR MEDAL
Struck in England to commemorate the declaration of war by the United States

ing 10 by 12 inches, with the parts of the speech already published in Germany printed in black, and the portions suppressed in Germany printed in red. There were 136 lines of black print to 294 lines of red. As the color-work required three passages through the press, copies were struck off and completed in batches of 10,000, the first of which went to the American Escadrille, which had already dropt large numbers of rough proofs of the message over the German lines. It was the intention to have the battle lines from Switzerland to the North Sea covered with copies of the President's words.

On April 24 the Stars and Stripes were flung to the breeze from the Eiffel Tower in Paris and saluted by twenty-one guns. This marked the opening of the ceremonies of United States Day in Paris. The French tricolor and the American flag were at the same hour unfurled together from the residence of Mr. Sharp, the American Ambassador, in the Avenue d'Eylau, from the American Embassy, from the Hôtel de Ville, and from other municipal government buildings. All over the capital street vendors did a thriving business in the colors of both Allies, while 40,000 American flags, handed out gratis by the committee, were waved by the people who thronged the neighborhood of the demonstrations. Jules Cambon, General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General Dubail, Military Governor of Paris, the members of the committee and other officials were received at 1.30 by Ambassador Sharp at his residence, whence they proceeded to the Place d'Iéna, where a bronze palm was deposited at the foot of the equestrian statue of Washington. While cannon boomed in honor of the American colors floating from the top of the Eiffel Tower, and aviators flying over the spot waved both French and American flags, "The Star Spangled Banner" was sung by Mlle. Nina May of the Opéra Comique, and the "Marseillaise" by Jean Notté of the Opéra. A plaque representing "Liberty Enlightening the World," after the statue by Bartholdi, protected by the American eagle, was presented to Ambassador Sharp as a memento of the occasion.

In the Reichstag, Bethmann-Hollweg, late in March, had undertaken to remove from Germany the blame for the impending war with this country and to lay it all on us. He declared that Germany felt "neither hatred nor hostility" to the United States—a statement in flat contradiction of many articles published in the German press—and it "never had the slightest intention of attacking the United States of America and had no such intention now." From which it was obvious that to the Chancellor's mind Germany's announcement that American ships would be sunk without warning, that actual sinking of them without warning, that the drowning of Americans, that insults to our Ambassador, and that detention of our citizens, were not attacks

upon the United States. Reduced to its lowest terms, the German proposition was that, because England would not yield to Germany, Germany had determined to inflict and could inflict death on Americans at sea. The case was the case of Belgium over again. Since Germany wanted to get at France, Belgium had no rights; since Germany wanted to strike at England, America had no rights. There was no right in the world but that of Germany. Other peoples were to lie down and be trampled on or else they would be assassinated.

Two years and a half before this crisis Bethmann-Hollweg had risen in his place in the German Parliament and told the German people and the world that the armies of the Kaiser were in Belgium because Germany was in a state of necessity and German necessity "knew no law." Now, standing in the same place, he had said with equal earnestness that Germany sought no war with the United States, and that German submarines had embarked upon their campaign of murder without malice. Germany invaded Belgium, Germany burned Louvain, German soldiers, acting under orders, raped Belgian women and massacred Belgian children, and all had been done without malice, because Germany had a purpose to achieve. As a thief might seek to rob without violence, and might prefer to pilfer without killing, so Germany had said she preferred to act in Belgium and so now she preferred to act with regard to American lives and ships at sea. She wished to achieve her ends without bloodshed, but if bloodshed had to come, the blame was on the murdered and not on her, for the German purpose, like German necessity, was above the law.[4]

[4] Principal Sources: The *Evening Post, The Literary Digest,* New York; The *Statist* (London). *Bradstreet's* (New York). The Chicago *Tribune;* The *Tribune,* The *Evening Sun,* New York; Associated Press dispatches, *The Independent, The Outlook,* The *World,* New York; Washington dispatches, The *Times* (New York).

III

SHIP-BUILDING TO OFFSET SUBMARINES—SEIZURES OF GERMAN SHIPS, AND ARRESTS OF GERMAN SUSPECTS

April 2, 1917—September, 1917

FOR some weeks before Congress declared war important steps had been taken for national defense. The President had called out for public service regiments of the National Guard in thirty-two States, the total number of men called out or retained (instead of being sent home from the Mexican border as had been expected) being about 52,000. The response to this call was prompt and full, the experience gained in mobilization in the Mexican campaign having been of great service. Primarily this force was to guard Government property, bridges, and other points of danger, and, if necessary, to repress acts of violence. The President ordered that the enlisted strength of the navy be brought up as rapidly as possible to its maximum—not far from 93,000 men—which meant an increase of approximately 15,000. Recruiting went on vigorously for bluejackets and marines, the emphasis placed on naval preparation being significant. Perhaps the most immediate war-need was for naval strength in order to protect our coasts, and in order, also, to undertake our share of the work of keeping the ocean lanes open to neutral commerce by suppressing submarine attacks. Home Defense Leagues were being formed all over the country, in small towns as well as in cities.

Actual and potential resources which, all told, probably never had been equaled by those of any other nation, were to be brought into the war. Into the balance against Germany were thrown a navy in strength and efficiency among the foremost afloat, an army, comparatively small, but efficient, backed by a citizenry of upward of 20,000,000 men capable of military duty, industrial resources incomparably

the greatest in the world, already mobilized for public service, and the moral force of more than 100,000,000 Americans awakened to their country's peril and united behind their President. Altho much remained to be done, officials believed the nation's destinies were secure, no matter how stubborn or prolonged the pressure of German militarism, or how wide the scope of German intrigue. Army preparations remained less complete because of the uncertainty over what Congress would authorize for that branch of the service. The regulars, numbering nearly 120,000, and equipped in a way which their officers believed were a match, unit for unit, for German soldiers, were ready to respond overnight to whatever call might come. The National Guard, 150,000 strong, hardened by months of service on the Mexican border, already had many units in active service for police duty throughout the country and could be fully mobilized on short notice. Without additional authorization by Congress, the regulars and guardsmen could be recruited to a combined strength of 700,000. Detailed plans for whatever larger army might be authorized had been prepared, and great quantities of equipment for it purchased. Industrial preparations assured a great compact output of national resources with almost unlimited possibilities. The Council of National Defense, in daily conferences with the nation's leading financial, commercial, scientific, and labor chiefs, not only worked out a definite and detailed industrial mobilization plan, but secured the indorsement and pledges of the men who could put it into effect at a moment's notice.

A campaign of colossal proportions to break down the German submarine blockade and keep the Entente plentifully supplied with food, clothing, and munitions, was determined upon as America's first physical stroke against her enemy. Unable as yet to send an army into the trenches, the President believed the United States could do great service to the common cause by providing a large armada of armed merchantmen to invalidate the undersea campaign, about which had been rallied the fading hopes of the Prussian militarists. For weeks officials were at work on such a plan, but not until April 12 was it revealed on how great a scale the task had been projected, or how great im-

portance was attached to it in the Administration's general war program. Virtually every detail had been completed, and by fall the campaign itself promised to be in full swing. Many officials believed it might secure supremacy over the submarine which would prove the decisive factor in the war. To insure maximum construction, the Shipping Board enlisted the country's entire ship-building facilities, then the greatest in the world. Upward of a hundred private plants on all coasts were to be utilized, giving the Board's orders precedence over every other class of work except the most urgent naval construction.

When the war began the United States were of little account in the lists of the world's great ship-building people; now they had sprung into a position of such importance that many felt that the issue of the war might be decided in the American shipyards. Thus the United States promised to redress the balance that had been borne down against the Allies by the German U-boat attacks. In 1913 and 1914 America had not been able to compete with Great Britain in ship-building, the costs of material and labor being almost twice as great in America as in the United Kingdom. America built for her Navy in specially provided yards, and for the lake traffic standardized grain- and ore-carriers, but did very little ocean steamship work. In 1913 her total mercantile output, chiefly for the Great Lakes, was 213 steamers of 265,000 tons, and in 1914 this small amount declined to 155 steamers of 263,000 tons. For the greater part of 1915, in spite of rapidly rising prices, the American yards were almost empty, and the total output for that year was no more than 122 steamers of 230,000 tons.

But by the middle of July, 1915, it was apparent that a great expansion was in sight. Orders began to flow in, especially from Norway, and new yards were fitted up and old ones increased in size. Nothing had been seen before in any way resembling the sudden boom, not even the expansion which followed the Spanish War, and endured from 1898 till 1901. Ship-building yards sprang up on both ocean coasts, on the Lakes, and on navigable rivers even far inland. By the end of 1916 no less than 47 yards were fully equipped—21 on the Atlantic, seven on the Pacific, eight on the Great

Lakes, and 11 on the rivers. But orders poured in faster than yards could be equipped to deal with them; it was obvious that if prices kept up and a sufficiency of steel and labor could be procured, the United States were in the way to become the largest builders of steel ships in the world.

The orders from Norway alone ran up in value to 40

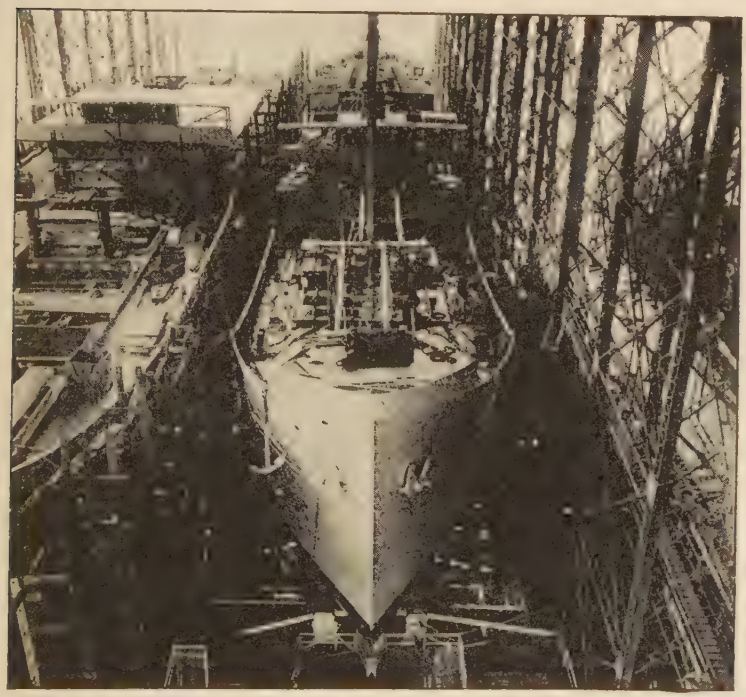

PHOTO BY N. Y. SHIPBUILDING CO., FROM UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD, N. Y

LAUNCHING THE "TUCKAHOE"

This American ship was launched twenty-seven days after her keel was laid

millions sterling, and then late in 1916 and early in 1917, the British Government came in with offers to take every available slip anywhere for cargo-carriers. As against the output for 1915 of 122 mercantile steamers of 230,000 tons the United States launched during 1916 176 steamers (exclusive of small craft), measuring 531,000 tons. This, however, was just a beginning. By the end of June, 1917, the United

States had launched 326 steel steamers of 998,000 tons, and by the end of September expected to put into the water over 400 steamers of all classes totaling more than 1,400,000 tons. These figures applied only to mercantile building, for in addition to 47 yards, the United States possest eight Navy yards for building warships in Brooklyn, Boston, Portsmouth, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Charleston, New Orleans, and Puget Sound. If the war should last through 1918 it was seen that the United States in that year could scarcely fail to put afloat 2,000,000 tons of steel vessels, in addition to wooden craft which had been projected in vast numbers. As the United States had gone up as producers of mercantile tonnage, so the United Kingdom went down, since it had to build and repair for the Royal Navy, and yards when depleted of labor and of material could not do anything. In 1913 Great Britain launched 1,977,000 tons of merchant steamers; in 1914, 1,722,000 tons; in 1915, 649,000 tons, and in 1916, 582,000 tons.

It was found before the summer of 1917 was over that not much lumber fit for wooden ships could be promptly obtained. Indeed, it was doubtful whether contracts, already let for the construction of wooden ships, could produce results worth while before steam-vessels of much greater value would be turned out. The wooden ship industry was hardly alive any longer and could not be created anew on a worth-while scale in a hurry. Such wooden vessels as were under contract promised, however, to be turned out of the yards and put to sea in a few months, but there was no likelihood that the means of increasing their number could be extended. The energies of the nation were therefore directed to the building of steel ships on a vast scale. By the following summer their construction had reached a point where it was possible for them to replace any losses the submarines might inflict.

A remarkable achievement in American ship-building was commemorated on Decoration Day by the launching of the *Agawam*, the first of new "fabricated" American steel ships, at the Newark Bay shipyard of the Submarine Boat Corporation. It was expected that this new type of standardized ship would enable our ship-builders to overcome speedily the submarine menace by steadily increasing their output.

As the term implied, these ships were of standard construction, the parts being made at a number of different steel mills and quickly "assembled," or put together, at the shipyard. Thus the full manufacturing capacity of the country could be utilized. It was estimated that by 1919 our annual output of ships would equal or surpass the 5,000,000-ton mark. The launching of the *Agawam* marked a new era in the industry. It proved the practicability of building ships "wholesale" according to a standard design—just as a multitude of automobiles can be "assembled" when all are of the same model. This achievement was the more remarkable when we consider that only nine months before the site of the Newark Bay shipyard was an impassable swamp. Within these few months the land had been filled in and 28 shipways erected upon which an equal number of ships were being constructed. The launching of the *Agawam* was witnessed by several thousand people, who loudly cheered the first of the fabricated fleet as she slid gracefully into the water.

The name *Agawam* had been selected by Mrs. Woodrow Wilson. Its literal translation was "Great Salt Meadows of the Atlantic Coast," an allusion to the spot where she was built. Approximately 27 steel mills, 56 fabricating plants, and 200 foundries, machine, pipe, joinery, and equipment shops were now engaged in the production of the parts to make up the finished steamship. The *Agawam* had a dead-weight carrying capacity of about 5,500 tons. The length of the vessel was 343 feet on deck. The maintained speed at sea fully loaded would be at least 10½ knots per hour on a mean draught of approximately 23 feet. It was planned to launch two, and possibly three, ships a week at the Newark yard when in full operation. The complete fruition of the plans of the Emergency Fleet Corporation began a new epoch in the maritime history of the United States. It would enable the country again to assume its proper position as a great maritime power and to take over its share of the carrying trade of the world at the end of the war. What had been done at Newark was duplicated on a great scale at Hog Island, below Philadelphia, from which in time came astonishing figures of achievement.

The most spectacular immediate action of the Government was that by which the United States took charge of 91 German ships which under war conditions had been held in American ports. The tonnage of these ships was over 600,000 gross and they were said to be not far from $145,000,000 in value. Several were among the most famous and largest passenger-ships in the world, such as the *Vaterland*, then in New York, and the *Kronprinzessin Cecile*, then in Boston harbor. Eighteen German ships were taken over in New York harbor alone. The crews of the ships were handed over to the Immigrant authorities, and were placed in the position of alien people who have not yet the right to enter a country until immigration officials have granted it. The German ships were not actually confiscated at that time. Apparently the position of our Government for the present was that these vessels had been taken for our protection. It was known that in many cases the engines and machinery of the ships had been tampered with, but it was thought that a few months' work would put them in order. They could then appropriately be used for transporting troops, or for other necessary military purposes, leaving in suspense the question of compensation to their original owners. After Austria-Hungary, on April 9, severed diplomatic relations with us, the President ordered that Custom Guards be placed on Austrian vessels, fourteen in number, and said to be worth $26,000,000, and that the officers and crews be taken into custody.

Thus, at one stroke of the pen, a great fleet of merchant ships, liners and freighters, some of them among the finest in the world, came into possession of the United States. As dawn came on Friday, April 6, the Prussian eagle came down and the American eagle went up on nearly 100 German ships. Under orders from Washington, Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port of New York, at 3.45 o'clock directed the seizure of the 27 German ships in New York Harbor. By 6 o'clock all the vessels tied up in Hoboken, at 135th Street, New York, and at piers in Brooklyn docks, were in possession of the United States. All German ships in other American waters were also seized. No trouble from the crews was reported from any port except in Guam, where

On September 20, 1917

In the summer of 1918

HOG ISLAND, BEFORE AND AFTER

the crew blew up a German cruiser. Regulars, National Guardsmen, Customs Inspectors, and policemen aided in taking over the ships.

In most instances in New York Harbor the machinery of the seized German vessels was found to have been so badly damaged as to require six, nine or even twelve months for repairs, but Austrian ships in United States ports had not been touched. In Boston five ships, of a carrying capacity of about 77,000 tons, were taken over by marines from the United States destroyer *Gresham*. National Guardsmen in Baltimore seized three ships of a tonnage of about 20,000. Two vessels at Philadelphia, of a total tonnage of 16,000, were taken. San Francisco yielded three, of a tonnage of 8,000. In the Philippines were 23 German ships totaling 85,000 tons. The *Willehad*, a supply ship to the German submarine *Deutschland*, was seized in New London. Two companies of United States infantry, a company of New Jersey Guardsmen, and a squad of Customs officers and a score of Hoboken policemen participated in the seizure of the *Vaterland*, *George Washington*, *President Grant*, *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, *President Lincoln*, *Grosser Kurfuerst*, and other ships tied up at the Hoboken piers of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American lines. At 135th Street, New York, two destroyers were on guard. Five naval cutters moved in the waters of the Hudson at the points where the German ships were docked.

The seizure took place without spectacular accompaniment. United States agents were in possession of the boats within an hour after orders had been received from Washington. There was no disorder and no demonstration on the part of the German population in Hoboken, as they stoically witnessed the activities of the officers. Hoboken did not know at first what was taking place. Without warning a company of soldiers crossed the river by the Hudson tubes and silently marched to the Hamburg-American line docks. One of the Customs Guards standing on duty at the gate swung it open and the soldiers filed through. A few minutes later some of the soldiers could be seen passing from the Hamburg to the Bremen line piers. Just then Collector Malone drove up with a military officer. About the same

time three revenue-cutters arrived and posted themselves near a destroyer which had been lying in the river for some days. A little later a boat of the Ellis Island service arrived and took position with the cutters.

On boarding the vessels Collector Malone sought the captains, who in most cases had been advised of the turn affairs had taken. The crews were sent to Ellis Island while the examination of their baggage was being completed. In all there were some 1,200 of the crews and 325 officers, the large majority of them reservists of the Imperial German Navy. The most notable figure among the German officers interned

SEIZED GERMAN SHIPS

These ships at the time of seizure were lying at piers in Hoboken. One of them was the *Vaterland,* afterward known as the *Leviathan,* and used by the United States as a transport. She could carry approximately 10,000 men and could make a round trip in two weeks

on Ellis Island was Commodore Ruser of the *Vaterland.* He had been in the service of the line for many years and had formerly commanded the *Imperator.* When Collector Malone boarded the *Vaterland,* Commodore Ruser met him in person. The five German liners that had been interned for more than a year at 135th Street and the North River were seized at 5.30 o'clock. In a dismal downpour of rain, 214 officers and men lined up on the dock to hear the proclamation of seizure, received it stolidly, went back to the ships to pack their belongings and within an hour and a half marched

down the gangplanks and started for Governor's Island. It was 7 o'clock when the interned crew, carrying valises, bags and packages of all sorts, began to stream down the five gangplanks. The whole transaction was accomplished in silence except for an occasional low-spoken order. Besides merchant ships the commerce raiders *Kronprinz Wilhelm* and *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* were in Philadelphia, and several small war craft, including a light cruiser in Guam. Most of the German passenger-ships had been built as naval auxiliaries, with gun platforms, reinforced decks and other equipment for offensive purposes, together with naval reserve crews. Fourteen of the larger vessels now seized could together transport at one time about 40,000 troops. The American merchant fleet, available at that time, could carry only about half that number.

About a quarter of a mile of Hoboken's water-front was put technically under martial law on April 19. Military authority superseded civil authority along that part of the shore line occupied by the six big North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American piers. Armed sentries kept persons on the opposite side of the street from entering the yards. It was not primarily for safety that the piers were taken over, but for the purpose of preparing them for government use during the war. Three companies of regulars were landed at these piers from a ferry-boat at night. Hoboken awoke next morning and found the big pier-yards, which since the beginning of the war had been cluttered with huge piles of empty beer-kegs, alive with khaki-clad American soldiers. The beer-kegs, which had waited for two and a half years for reshipment to Germany, were carted away, and moving vans filled with trunks and boxes belonging to officers appeared at the homes of the superintendents of the yards. Early in the day railroad engineers, in consultation with army officials, were arranging to build spur-tracks from railroads to the newly-acquired yards, so as to establish direct connections with all parts of the country. With their seizure these yards came technically under the definition of "Government reservations for bases of supplies, and land to be used for war purposes."

The total tonnage seized by the United States reached 720,000, while Brazil, our ally now, had taken over 254,000

tons. Altogether, including the mercantile tonnage seized by Cuba, about 175 vessels, representing nearly 1,000,000 tons, had been added to the shipping resources at the disposal of Germany's foes. Should the fifteen vessels taken "in custody" by the Argentine Government be ultimately seized, another 76,000 tons would be lost to the Central Powers. Should the remaining South and Central American Republics break with Germany, about 600,000 more tons would be released to the Allies. There were 89 Teuton ships in the ports of Chile alone, aggregating 318,000 tons. The Teuton tonnage actually seized at this time was enough to offset the losses of two and a half months of ruthless subsea warfare, provided 400,000 tons were taken as a monthly average of submarine destruction. And that average as the season advanced steadily grew less.

There were now ninety-one German and fourteen Austrian vessels in ports of the United States, exclusive of the Virgin Isles. Under the terms of a joint resolution of Congress, each of these ships which was owned at the time it came under American jurisdiction "in whole or in part by any corporation, citizen or subject of any nation with which the United States may be at war when such vessel was taken," could be seized and operated in the service of the United States. If the vessels of Austrian register were owned in part by Germans, that ownership rendered them liable to seizure on the same terms as the German ships, regardless of our relations with Austria who so far had made no formal declaration of war. The gross tonnage of this fleet was 662,513. Of this gross tonnage all but 67,817 were of undisputed German ownership. Dr. Karl Helfferich had told the Reichstag main committee that the submarine campaign of ruthlessness had sent 1,600,000 gross tons of shipping to the bottom in two months. These figures had been disputed, but not disproved,[5] and the agitation in England for more active measures against the U-boats confirmed the general understanding that the toll of shipping had been heavy.

In some German vessels the damage was much greater

[5] They were declared at a joint meeting of Entente Admirals to be 40 per cent. too high.

than in others; in all it was sufficiently great to render the ships useless for weeks. The work of repairing was begun immediately on their seizure. Of the ships in custody 31 were now in New York harbor. Others were distributed among ports on the Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf Coast of continental United States, in Honolulu, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands. In the Philippines were 23, ranging from the 10,981-ton *Princess Alice* of the North German Lloyd to the 499-ton *Wiegand* of the Deutsche Sudseephosphat. The *Elsass,* another North German Lloyd boat, having a tonnage of 6,591, was at Pago Pago. The ships were of all sizes, from the 54,282-ton *Vaterland* in Hoboken, to the 499-ton *Wiegand.* Many were cargo carriers. The transformation of passenger-ships into transports or freighters was not difficult. The hardest task was to repair the machinery, which was built abroad, and for which parts had to be made to replace injured members. The total tonnage of these vessels was more than one-third of the steam tonnage under United States registry in foreign service in 1916, and a little less than one-seventh of the coastwise tonnage. The use of the seized ships for the transport of foodstuffs to Europe, as planned, would go far to counter-balance the losses of Allied and neutral shipping due to U-boat attacks. The utilization of this great fleet became one of the immediate duties of the Government. Before the summer was over, with expert machinists under naval supervision, several ships were ready for sailing. By the end of July the *Vaterland,* now the *Leviathan,* was at her Hoboken pier flying the Stars and Stripes.

Estimates showed that Germany would emerge from the war with a net loss of more than 50 per cent. of her merchant ships. It would, therefore, be many years before she could resume her place in the commercial world. The United States had acquired an opportunity of emerging from the war second only in merchant ships to Great Britain. Germany's total merchant shipping was accounted for as follows: Lost by mines or torpedoes, 152 vessels, representing a tonnage of 452,000; retained or captured by enemies, 267, with a total tonnage of 807,000; in the United States and neutral harbors, 621, with a total tonnage of

2,341,000; in home ports, 490, of 2,419,000 tons. The shipbuilding industry in Germany, so far as merchant ships were concerned, had been stagnant since the first of the war. English shipyards, meanwhile, had been working at capacity with merchant bottoms and were turning out vessels at the rate of 1,000,000 tons a year. American yards had not yet reached capacity, but when they did, within a few months, they were expected to exceed the British output. Both British and American merchant ships were standardized. It was with these ships, protected by destroyers, the most deadly foe of the submarine, that the United States and the Entente nations expected to defeat the U-boat campaign.

Up to the end of 1916, the war marine losses of the Allies and neutrals had amounted to 4,500,000 gross tons sunk and 300,000 tons damaged by mines, torpedoes and gunfire. During 1915 and 1916 about 3,700,000 tons of new shipping had been put into service, and not far from 1,000,000 tons of ships captured from the Central Powers had been converted to the purposes of their enemies. On the balance, therefore, up to the end of 1916, had it not been for the immense demands of the Navy and Army for supply and transport ships, there would not have been any great call for the services of a "shipping controller." But some 70 per cent. of the total British tonnage available for the Allies had been requisitioned for purely war purposes, so that the amount left—British, Allied, and neutral—for carrying on the international commerce of the world was reduced to a bare half of what had been at work upon the same task in the year before the war. This was the situation at the end of 1916. At the outbreak of the war Germany owned 5,500,000 tons gross as against the 21,000,000 tons of the British Empire. The Central Powers put together could not have mustered more than 6,600,000 tons in comparison with Allied shipping of 28,500,000 tons, and neutral shipping of 11,300,000 tons.

By April 20, approximately 3,000 German residents of the United States were believed to be under close surveillance because of their activities in behalf of the German Government before the United States entered into the war, or because of their still active pro-German sympathies. The

Department of Justice had a largely increased field-force of investigators keeping so close a watch on suspects that it became possible to arrest virtually every man under suspicion within twenty-four hours. Suspects were located in every State of the Union. Most of them had been under surveillance prior to the entrance of this country into the war, but hundreds of names had been added to the list as auxiliary workers. In addition to 500,000 civilian employees on the Government's pay-roll in all departments actively engaged in reporting information to the bureau, all sheriffs and their deputies throughout the country were cooperating with the Department to the extent of reporting information which might aid in detecting and apprehending persons working against the interests of the United States.

For many weeks Germany failed to take seriously the entry of the United States into the war. Not until July were there any sure indications that the landing of our troops in France, the defeat of a submarine attempt to intercept transports, and the general financial, military, and naval preparations under way in this country, had made any impression on her. There was now less flippant belittlement of what was being said and done in this country and less confidence that, in any case, Germany could force a peace upon her enemies in Europe before America could get help enough over the sea to rescue them. In place of that, there had ensued a tone of wrath and bluster, which was a sure sign of waning confidence and growing fear. There were also indications that the light of truth about what had been done, what was still being done, and what was liable to happen, was slowly making its way among the German people.

By the first week in June it was decreed that all exports from the United States of food products and basic supplies should be restricted under what was known as the Espionage Law. The proclamation put the restriction in effect July 15, after which date it would be impossible to export to any country of the world, without an export license, coal, coke, fuel oils, kerosene and gasoline, including bunkers, food-grains, flour and meal therefore, fodder and feeds, meats and fats, pig-iron, steel billets, ship-plates and structural

material, scrap iron and scrap steel, ferro-manganese, fertilizers, arms, ammunition, and explosives. While the restrictions applied to all the world, it was understood to be the intention of the Exports Council to grant licenses freely where it was established beyond a doubt that supplies were not reaching Germany. The restrictions applied chiefly to neutral countries. It had been shown that, notwithstanding

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AN AMERICAN LUNCHEON IN LONDON

Left to right—the Italian Ambassador, Premier Lloyd George, Ambassador Walter H. Page, Col. H. W. Thornton

the growing scarcity of food products, during May exports of foodstuffs in crude condition and food-animals were valued at $56,424,000 by the Department of Commerce, an increase of about $20,000,000, and exports of foodstuffs partly or wholly manufactured, at $75,184,000, an increase of $13,000,000. During May exports to the Netherlands were valued at $9,670,000, an increase of about $500,000;

exports to Norway at $9,061,000, an increase of $4,300,000; and exports to Spain at $8,415,000, also an increase.

The proclamation of the President covered a very broad field of export trade; but there was no doubt that conditions fully justified it. The countries named included practically all that were reached by American trade, both belligerent and neutral. The necessity of such a measure had become sufficiently obvious. There was great danger of a shortage in Europe of the most essential supplies, so long as the war lasted, especially on the part of Great Britain and France, which had been for nearly three years engaged in this struggle, with a continual exhaustion of resources, or of the means of making them available. So far as food products and materials derived from the soil were concerned, very close calculation would have to be made, with prudent foresight and prevention of waste.

By July 9 it became obvious that there would be a billion bushels increase over last year's production in the principal food-crops, which was the response American farmers had made to President Wilson's mid-April appeal that upon them "rests the issue of the war and the fate of nations." The extent of the response was disclosed when a production of 6,093,000,000 bushels of principal food-crops was forecast in the Department of Agriculture's report. This year's corn crop was to be the largest in our history, except one. Four, and possibly five, other crops promised to make new high records. The corn crop showed an increase of 541,000,000 bushels over the previous year, with a total of 3,124,000,000 bushels. The total acreage was 14 per cent. larger. The combined winter and spring wheat crops would be 38,000,000 bushels more, with a total of 678,000,000 bushels.

One beefless day a week (not including the traditional piscatorial Friday), the issuance of "war-bread" to patrons as well as to employees, and the removal of cheese from the free-lunch dietary, were features of a plan presented to Herbert C. Hoover on July 10 by the Hotel Association of New York City. Among details agreed upon were these:

"Individual service of bread and butter of uniform weight; rolls to weigh an ounce or a little more. Adulteration of wheat bread and rolls by at least 10 per cent. of some other flour. Most of the

assorted rolls served at breakfast to be of flour other than wheat. Stale bread and trimmings from toast to be used in making war-bread according to a specified receipt. Use of smooth bread instead of rough bread, which causes the use of too much butter. Printing of the following on the menus of all hotels: *Mr. Hoover urges the use of less wheat, pork products, butter and all fats, also beef, and to substitute and use freely sea food, fresh vegetables, and fruits. Economy in the non-restricted foods is not necessary or desirable at the present time.*"

In a proclamation, issued early in August, upon the further restriction of exports, President Wilson repeated his statement of July 9 that there was to be "no prohibition of exports," and made it clear again that "the normal course of trade would be interfered with as little as possible." To avoid unnecessary interference, it was good sense to discriminate between the neutral European lands from which transshipments to Germany are easiest, and distant neutrals and nations at war with Germany. The new proclamation was not, strictly speaking, supplementary to the original one of July 9, but constituted a comprehensive order which definitely took its place. All the goods listed in July were listed again in August. Virtually all commerce had been brought under the Export Council.

In the summer more than one hundred neutral ships were waiting at Atlantic ports for export licenses. Four-fifths of them came from Holland. In New York Harbor a line of them extended for some miles up the Hudson River. A large majority had cargoes of wheat and fodder that had been placed on board before July 15, when our embargo became effective. The grain in them was rotting. The Dutch Government and the owners of the ships refused to unload it. They rejected our Government's proposition that they send the ships to Australia, where 150,000,000 bushels of wheat awaited transportation. These ships could not be permitted to carry cargoes of American grain to Holland, or any other European neutral country. This had been the decision of our Exports Council before Sweden's unneutral aid to Germany in the case of Argentina's ships was brought to light. These ships were not to receive clearances until they complied with American restrictions on the nature and quantity

of their cargoes and furnished an attestation that their cargoes were not intended for Germany. Some of the Dutch carriers were in our ports for months. Most were anchored in midstream, because docks were scarce and dock-charges high.

In July, 11 of these grain ships made a successful dash for the sea, having resolved to take chances in running the blockade. They were supposedly loaded with cargoes that the British Government, and probably the American Government, would not let go through to neutral countries in Europe. In the second week of July, 60 steamships loaded with grain under the Dutch flag were waiting in New York Harbor alone for permission to sail for Holland *via* Halifax. The Holland-American Line owned ten of these steamships, whose tonnage ranged from 8,000 to 10,000, and had four more steamships waiting in Baltimore. Other vessels were owned by other Dutch steamship companies, and had been brought into the Atlantic trade from the Dutch East Indies and Southern American trades. Piers and anchorage space below Liberty Island in the Upper Bay were crowded with these delayed ships.

While our manhood in all States of the Union was taking up with determination our challenge of the Kaiser's armed forces, the sources of our strength continued to be menaced by Germans not in uniform, whose weapons were spying, sabotage, bomb-planting, incendiarism, murder, and many forms of insidious propaganda. To combat this menace, President Wilson, on November 19, issued a proclamation barring all male Germans of fourteen years and upward from the neighborhood of any place of military importance; commanding them to register and carry their registration-cards with them at all times; forbidding them to change their places of residence without permission from the Department of Justice; expelling them from the District of Columbia and the Canal Zone; excluding them from all boats except public ferries; and forbidding them to ascend in any airplane, balloon, or airship. It was estimated that this proclamation, which supplemented one issued April 6, would affect about 130,000 persons in New York, and about 600,000 in the country at large.

Early in the war Ambassador Dumba of Austria had declared that there were 250,000 German and Austrian reservists in the United States. Our own Census Bureau estimated that there were within our borders 4,662,000 Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, Turks and Bulgarians, of whom more than 900,000 were males of twenty-one years and over. Since the beginning of war German agents and German sympathizers had destroyed in this country, by torch and bomb, millions of dollars' worth of war material intended for the Allies, sacrificing some hundreds of American lives in the process, and scarcely a week passed without some new item being added to this list of their crimes. But it had not been generally known, until the *Chicago Herald* published the fact that 600 persons had been convicted and imprisoned, and several shot, for criminal pro-German activities on and around the Great Lakes alone, and that only the Navy's vigilance had made possible the moving of 60,000,000 tons of ore through that artery of commerce. In the seven months since we entered the war, according to the *Providence Journal,* food-supplies to the value of more than $18,000,000 had been burned in the United States by German sympathizers. Along the Brooklyn water-front alone more than thirty fires had broken out under conditions strongly suggesting enemy incendiarism. During a gathering of the American Federation of Labor in Buffalo, Samuel Gompers had declared that "German spies and Teutonic agents honeycomb this convention"; but their presence did not prevent the delegates from pledging loyalty to the Government in the war by a unanimous vote. Within twenty-four hours after President Wilson's proclamation was issued, two hundred Germans were rounded up in the saloons and boarding-houses of the Hoboken water-front and taken to Ellis Island, where they were interned for the duration of the war. The decree that an enemy alien "shall not enter or be found within the District of Columbia" revealed the fact that Germans held clerkships in many executive departments.[6]

[6] Principal Sources: *The Literary Digest, The Outlook,* New York; The *Economist* (London), The *Evening Sun,* The *Times,* The *Journal of Commerce,* The *Sun,* New York; Associated Press dispatches.

IV

THE VISITS OF BALFOUR, VIVIANI, AND JOFFRE, AND OTHER WAR COMMISSIONERS

April 21, 1917—September 27, 1917

FOLLOWING our declaration of "a state of war" with Germany, there came to this country in April, May, June and August, successive groups of war commissions from the Entente Allies, which led to probably the most remarkable exchange of international greetings, congratulations, and understandings of which history has any record. The first to arrive were the British, headed by Arthur J. Balfour, the Foreign Minister and a former Prime Minister of Great Britain. A few days later came the French Commission, headed by M. Viviani, a former Premier of France, and now Minister of Justice, and Marshal Joffre, the respective dates of arrival being April 21 and April 24. These commissions came in almost immediate response to the declaration of "a state of war," so promptly had their countries recognized the motive and determination with which this country had entered the great conflict. News of the action of Congress had caused among the Entente Allies profound rejoicing. America was declared to have acquired a pivotal position in the war, largely because she came into the work fresh-handed, and had such enormous resources in men and money, in inventive ability and in manufacturing facilities.

Within a fortnight after the declaration of "a state of war," newspapers in New York had given out rumors that eminent statesmen and soldiers were coming to this country on special missions from the Entente Allies—the first hint of any kind the public had of these historic visits. The rumors gave rise to the highest expectations, with predictions that the Commissioners would receive a welcome the like of which had been unknown in this country, save, perhaps, in the case of Lafayette's second visit in 1825. Within a few days, the rumors were well authenticated, altho nothing

definite was for a time made known as to when or where the commissioners would arrive. The activity of German submarines, which about this time reached their highest point of intensified and unrestricted warfare, combined with the tragic fate of Lord Kitchener, off the Orkney Isles, in the spring of 1916, had led to the imposition of absolute secrecy as to details. Then suddenly on April 21 it became known that one of the commissions had actually arrived on American soil.

Mr. Balfour and his associates and staff, to the number of perhaps twoscore, had landed in Halifax. The ship which brought them over had been guarded by torpedo boats for a short distance from the port of sailing, but no sign of submarines or hostile craft had been seen anywhere during the voyage. They were met at Vanceboro, Maine, by American State Department officials who for five days with a five-car Government train, had been waiting at a New England station for word from Halifax. On receipt of news that Mr. Balfour's ship had arrived there, this train by a night run crossed the State of Maine, and at nine in the morning reached Vanceboro, a frontier town, where the American officials, including representatives of the Army and Navy in uniform, descended in a dense fog from their train to a dingy, deserted little station, there to wait for the arrival of Mr. Balfour's train from Halifax. Two hours later Mr. Balfour's train brought him and his party to Vanceboro, across the bridge that spans the St. Croix River, a bridge which in the early days of the war German plotters had laid plans to blow up. Ten minutes afterward the train, guarded as perhaps no other train had ever been guarded in this country, got under way for Washington by way of Portland and New York. Boston was avoided and New York was entered and left by tunnels.

There was no flaw in the welcome that Washington on April 22 extended officially and personally to Mr. Balfour and to those who came with him. At 3.10 o'clock that afternoon a great crowd assembled at the Union Station, where, at the open train gate, appeared a tall, slender man of almost 70, with silver-gray hair and drooping moustache, at his right Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador,

at his left Robert Lansing, Secretary of State. The crowd cheered with spontaneous enthusiasm as Mr. Balfour passed through a long lane of police to the President's room at the opposite side of the station. No guest of the nation had ever received a more cordial or wholehearted welcome at the American capital. It was all the more emphatic because of the lack of any formal preparations for it. The Union Jack was flying with the Stars and Stripes from windows and from the hoods of motor-cars at curbs along the whole route. Washington seldom gets excited over anything, but when Mr. Balfour came it was different. His welcome was attended by one continuous chorus of cheers.

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MR. BALFOUR AND MR. CHOATE
The picture shows the two men on their way to the New York City Hall at the time of the reception to Mr. Balfour

The French Commission reached Washington a few days later and had a tumultuous welcome. They had landed at Hampton Roads on April 24, whence, on board the President's yacht *Mayflower*, they went up Chesapeake Bay to Washington. American naval officials, with a flotilla of destroyers, had met them about 100 miles at sea, a former French passenger liner having brought them over. After signals were exchanged, the destroyers reversed their course and escorted the French ship to the Virginian Capes. Not

a light on any ship was shown at night. The vessels knew of each other's presence only by the phosphorescence that played about their propellers. At dawn they fell in with an American cruiser which led the way to the harbor at Hampton Roads. Once inside the harbor, the destroyers slipt away to anchorages, while every American ship in those waters hoisted to its masthead the French tricolor, and a band played "The Star-Spangled Banner." Marshal Joffre and the military and naval members of the Commission stood at salute and civilian members bared their heads. The French national anthem was played and saluted in similar manner.

The visitors were at once made to see in Washington that our traditional affection for France had not waned. They realized before they went to bed that the cause of France had become America's cause also. The day's incidents made a deep impression even on staid and seasoned veterans of public life, long used to patriotic or partizan demonstrations. From the moment when M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre stept ashore from the *Mayflower* at one of the great naval workshops of the Government, where men in jeans were busily engaged in turning out huge guns for the war, they found themselves among enthusiastic friends anxious to emphasize the stirring truth that America had gone into the struggle for the cause of Democracy, with an intention of seeing it through. Phlegmatic, unemotional Washington shouted, yelled, and cheered with a fanaticism that before might have been equaled in America once, but only once—at the time of the second coming of Lafayette. Through crowded streets at midday the visitors went in motors, two troops of American cavalry galloping briskly as an escort. Secretary Lansing rode with M. Viviani and other French officials. Marshal Joffre was alone with Ambassador Jusserand, in full-dress uniform, easily recognizable because of the many pictures of him which had appeared in the American press. Pennsylvania Avenue was packed with people on sidewalks, in automobiles, in every available space. People shouted, threw their hats in the air, waved handkerchiefs and clapped hands in a noisy enthusiasm which, with the blowing of whistles, the tooting of horns, and the clanging

of street-car gongs, merited description as an extraordinary reception, as if to royalty itself. It was a tribute not alone to the genius of Marshal Joffre, but a greeting to France, the country that had aided America when she was in need—a reflection of a national desire to repay in some measure an historic debt.

Part of the Italian Commission quietly slipt into New York unnoticed on May 11. Its quiet entrance was due to the fact that the State Department had not been definitely advised of its coming. Next day it slipt off to Washington as quietly and as unexpectedly as it had entered New York. Italy's War Mission was headed by Ferdinando di Savoja, Prince of Udine, a member of the Italian reigning house, and included Guglielmo Marconi, the inventor. The choice of the Prince of Udine as head of the Commission had more significance than appeared in the fact that he was a member of the royal family. Though young — he had just turned 33—he was no merely decorative representative of the Italian throne. He was an able and dashing officer, and had come to this country, after stepping ashore from the deck of a destroyer in the Adriatic, where his flotilla had been close on the trail of Austrian U-boats since the war began. The Belgian Commission of five members arrived in New York on June 16, and next day went to Washington to present credentials and make official calls. They had had a pleasant, uneventful voyage, their steamship nowhere annoyed by submarines. The commission was headed by a distinguished diplomat formerly the Belgian Minister to this country, Baron Moncheur. The Commissioners from Russia arrived by way of the Pacific, their train from the coast

THE PRINCE OF UDINE

reaching Washington on June 19. Washington opened its arms with warmth and enthusiasm also to this mission, which was headed by the new Ambassador, Boris Bakhmetieff. They were escorted through streets lined with cheering people and honking automobiles. It was a welcome meant to be expressive of the country's response to the Democratic upheaval that had taken place in Russia. The Commissioners presented an impressive sight as they alighted from the train, several being in Russian uniform of khaki coat, blue trousers and black knee-boots

GUGLIELMO MARCONI

More than two months after the Russians arrived, a mission from Japan headed by Viscount Ishii reached Washington, where a cordial welcome was extended to them. It was understood that the purpose of this visit differed essentially from those of the other commissions, and especially from the purpose of the British and French visits, which had direct relation to a vigorous part being taken by this country in the war and that purpose had now been fully accomplished. The Japanese were believed to have come more for the purpose of emphasizing the friendship that existed between their country and our own. In that sense it aimed at a correction of many persistent rumors, believed to be of German origin, that Japan was eager for war with us.

The several commissions in coming here made a new departure in the world's history. The subject about which they were to confer was not how to apportion among their own states conquered territory, but how to restore territory to its original owners, and how to make mankind secure in a long spell of peace. In the history of the United States

there had been no precedent for the visits, nothing that resembled them even remotely. Of all highly distinguished Europeans coming here, the most had come as tourists or sightseers. One or two had come for political purposes, but none came vested with actual authority, or as officially representing a nation that had sent him. Two men, each of whom afterward became a King of England, had been here, but they came under widely different circumstances. William IV, as a young man, yet uncrowned, came to help conquer us in the War of 1812, and narrowly escaped a longer stay, for sincere efforts were made to capture him. Edward VII came as a young man of 19, but only to see the country as part of his education, and had a reception that is still memorable in our annals. Eminent statesmen had been here, the most eminent of all, probably, Li Hung Chang, but his coming was without political significance. Of English statesmen, the most eminent was probably Joseph Chamberlain, but he came on no errand of a public character. One who was afterward to become King of the French came in Louis Philippe, but he made his visit as a political refugee, as did afterward Jerome Bonaparte. A contemporary of both, and greater than either, was Talleyrand, but he came before he was famous, and merely as a refugee from the Reign of Terror. One who was destined for the French throne but never ascended it, the Prince de Joinville, was in the country twice; once as a part of his education; twenty years later as an officer on McClellan's staff, where also served another royal Prince and possible King, the Comte de Paris. It was curious to remember that Count Zeppelin had also been here as an observer of the Civil War, and that Garibaldi had fled to this country during an intermission between Italian defeat and victory, living in simplicity on Staten Island, where he earned a livelihood by making candles.

Besides these were other old-world celebrities, famous or exalted statesmen, who came for safety, or to see the country, and some few on political errands. Louis Kossuth arrived in 1851 for the purpose of enlisting our aid for Hungary, but all he received was banquets and compliments. The visit of the Grand Duke Alexis had a political flavor,

but it was only an incident in a *rapprochement* between us and Russia that had grown out of Russia's endeavor to secure this country against European intervention during the Civil War. When Prince Henry of Prussia came he was on an ostensibly social errand, but really on a faintly political one. The German Emperor had hoped that to honor us with a visit from his brother might make us well-disposed toward future German movements on the Continent, and was naturally annoyed to find his labor fruitless. We sought, in our uncouth way, to give the Prince a good time, but remained averse to the real purposes of his brother.

None of these visits, however, offered an opportunity for a comparison with the visits of 1917—not even the visit of Lafayette in 1825, which to most American minds was recalled when M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre arrived. But there was no political significance in Lafayette's visit. It was merely personal and symbolical. After the arrival of Mr. Balfour, M. Viviani, and Marshal Joffre, there soon began in Washington a series of receptions, interchanges of information, and helpful discussions which, in importance and value, constituted the most memorable international occurrences ever known in America. The British and French Commissioners became the central figures of a large group of experts in war and government, British, French, and American. What they said publicly put stress on their desire to help America to avoid the pitfalls and errors into which their own countries had fallen; to show us how to work wisely and effectively for the common end; and exprest appreciation of American support and world patriotism, as Mr. Balfour phrased it, in "a common effort for a great ideal." Mr. Balfour, having heard that some critics believed the object of the British Mission was to "inveigle the United States out of its traditional policy and to entangle it in formal alliances, either secret or public, with European Powers," took occasion to say in public that he could imagine no rumor "having less foundation" or any policy "more utterly unnecessary or futile." Confidence in the assistance the Allies were going to get from America was not based on such considerations as those which arise out of formal treaties. No treaty could increase the Entente's undoubted

confidence in the people of the United States, who, having come into the war, were going to see it through.

On April 29 the British and French commissions visited Mount Vernon, where the flags of Great Britain, France, and the United States were hoisted over the tomb of Washington. Nature on that spring day was in her best garb. The evergreens before the tomb stood out boldly in the new life just blossoming. About five hundred persons stood with bared heads in a semi-circle when, without formality, Secretary Daniels bowed to M. Viviani, who advanced slowly into the center of the open space, and delivered an address. Spectators, altho most of them could not understand French, caught the suppressed fire of the orator, and followed his words spellbound. Apart from M. Viviani's voice not a sound could be heard. Mr. Balfour then stept forward. For a moment he stood in silence, a tall, erect, kindly figure. Abandoning his previous decision not to speak, he gave expression to a few vital sentences that evidently came straight from the heart.

Two French officers now advanced with a bronze wreath, the highest mark of honor which the French accord to dead soldiers. Bending low the Marshal passed through the narrow entrance and solemnly placed this wreath upon the stone coffin and stood there silently at salute. As he passed back among the spectators, Mr. Balfour came forward with his wreath of lilies and oak leaves, tied with the colors of the three allied nations. He, too, entered the tomb, and placed the British token beside the French, while Lieutenant General Bridges stood outside at salute. There was neither music nor applause. Except for the words of the speakers, the silence and peace of the place had not been broken. The little gathering looked on with emotions too varied and profound for expression. The visiting statesmen afterward passed in and out of several rooms at the old Mount Vernon mansion, examining heirlooms and looking curiously at the key of the Bastile, which Lafayette had presented to Washington. Mr. Balfour was the last to go. Seldom, it seemed to the small group of men and women, had there been a more impressive scene on American soil, the more notable because of its simplicity. It was the second time that the

memory of Washington had thus been honored by a Briton. The first was in 1860, when King Edward as Prince of Wales visited Mount Vernon. But it was the first time that a British flag had been raised over Washington's tomb. M. Viviani's eloquent speech made a deep impression, not only on the company gathered at the tomb, but on the whole country, as widely printed in the newspapers.

On May 1 the ceiling of the Senate Chamber at the Capitol re-echoed to shouts of welcome for M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre, who went there by prearrangement. Rules for-

MR. BALFOUR SPEAKING AT WASHINGTON'S TOMB

M. Viviani made a more formal and very eloquent speech, after which Joffre placed a bronze wreath inside the tomb. Above the tomb were floating American, British and French Flags

bade applause; technically, they forbade Joffre's admission to the floor, but no one thought of challenging either him or any of the visitors, including several foreign journalists, who entered the Chamber with the guests. M. Viviani, who was known as the most eloquent man in France, made an address in French that thrilled his audience, who accorded him tumultuous applause. Shouts of "Joffre! Joffre! Joffre!" which Senators started, and which were taken up by the topmost tiers of the gallery, induced the hero of

the Marne to turn as he was leaving the Chamber and make the shortest speech ever heard in that home of unlimited debate. "I do not speak English," he said, with a benignant smile, and then raising his great right hand, called out "*Vivent les États-Unis!*" After a military salute he was gone. The shout that rose and fell and rose again as he went away became the climax of the visit. The Senate forgot its rules and all its august solemnity and yelled like college boys at a football-game. Marshal Joffre fairly shot himself down from the rostrum like an abashed boy who had just spoken his piece on the last day of school. Half a dozen strides took him to the door. He went directly from the Senate Chamber to the office of Vice-President Marshall and there spent a few minutes chatting with Senators in French. Dozens of men and women, unable to crowd into the galleries and waiting in the corridors, prest forward to shake his hand. Over the hand of a little old woman with gray hair, who came forward, he bowed low. To an aged doorkeeper he raised his hand in a military salute. On May 2, while standing on the Speaker's rostrum in the House, behind which hang large portraits of Washington and Lafayette, M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre received another remarkable ovation. The entire membership of the House and the crowded galleries rose and applauded them. When M. Viviani spoke, the House displayed high enthusiasm. When Marshal Joffre, averse to talking even in French, rose and saluted the House, members gave him an ovation never excelled in the history of the lower House of Congress.

On May 4, to the surprize of the House, President Wilson appeared in the gallery to join in a demonstration accorded to Mr. Balfour. Precedents of a century and a half were broken. It was the first time in American history that a British official had been invited to address the House, and the first time that a President of the United States had sat in the gallery. The welcome to Mr. Balfour and his associates equaled, if it did not surpass, the demonstration which had greeted M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre a few days earlier. Applause swept the floor and galleries for several minutes, subsiding only to start with a new outburst

when the Speaker introduced Mr. Balfour. Two or three times Mr. Balfour hesitated for a word, which seemed to emphasize the sincerity of his address and the cordiality and sympathy with which his audience listened. Through all the cheering the President joined vigorously. When Mr. Balfour had finished and was standing below the rostrum with General Bridges, Admiral de Chair, and the British Ambassador, and shaking hands with members as they filed past, Mr. Wilson again surprized every one by slipping downstairs quietly and taking his place in the line with the Congressmen, to greet Mr. Balfour. The galleries were packed, and a large crowd was waiting outside. On May 8 Mr. Balfour and his colleagues paid a visit to the Senate, and were received with an enthusiasm which, with the welcome accorded by the same body to the French Mission, stood out in high relief above the ordinarily staid minutes of the Senate. Mr. Balfour's speech lasted almost twenty-five minutes and promised to be remembered as one of the great official utterances of the war.

The visits of the Italians, Russians, Belgians, and Japanese were attended by ceremony and greetings that were almost exact reproductions of those which had been bestowed upon the British and French. Each mission was taken down to Mount Vernon and there deposited floral offerings on Washington's tomb, and each was formally received in the Senate and House, where great enthusiasm was displayed and speeches made. Only when the Japanese Commission came was a new feature introduced into the greetings. This was a social reception and garden party at the Pan-American Union Building given by the Secretary of State and Mrs. Lansing on August 29, and attended by the President and Mrs. Wilson. It was declared to be the most elaborate affair of its kind ever given in the national capital. The most distinguished society of the country was in attendance, the beautiful Pan-American buildings, brilliantly illuminated and decorated, and the Aztec Garden and Venetian Pool of the grounds adorned with varicolored lights casting rainbows across the water, with the gardens hung with rows of Japanese lanterns, outside stairways to the garden having green feathery foliage, with tall bunches of white hydrangea in

graceful baskets hanging from balustrades. Small tables were set on the terrace overlooking the Aztec Garden. A military band played and the weather was ideal. Diplomats of all nations, high officials, Senators, and Representatives, members of the numerous war-boards and their wives, passed through the patio to the gardens, where supper was served. All the public utterances made by Viscount Ishii were so sympathetic and noble in character that none of the visitors seemed to have been more fortunate in their spokesmen. There was something French in his lucidity, something of Burke in his philosophical eloquence.

M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre left Washington by special train on May 3 for a tour of Middle Western States, extending over 3,200 miles, with Chicago the first place visited. The half-day that followed their arrival there was crowded with patriotic outbursts, beginning with a motor-ride from the station through deep-canyoned city streets overhung with the tricolor of France, the Stars and Stripes, and the British flag. Women, equally with men, formed vast crowds. Children not infrequently saluted the hero of the Marne with a shrill, "Vive la France!" which brought always a smile and a salute from the great soldier. At a meeting in the Auditorium pandemonium for a time reigned, and it was with great difficulty that the crowd was subdued, as was again the case in the evening, when a dinner took place in the gold-room of the Congress Hotel. M. Viviani referred to the first onrush of the German army almost to the door of Paris, and the order of General Joffre to the French army to take the historic offensive that drove the Germans back thirty miles—an eloquent narrative which made the hero of the Marne brush tears away with his clenched fist and rise impulsively to embrace the orator. Marshal Joffre urged by repeated and vociferous demands, then made his first speech in America, and brought cheering throngs to their feet amid waving flags. Among the others cities visited were Kansas City, St. Louis, and Springfield. The Italian and Belgian Commissioners also made a tour in the West.

At Springfield Marshal Joffre and M. Viviani, with bowed and uncovered heads, filed into the tomb of Lincoln with military and civil officials, deposited a wreath and left with-

THE BRITISH AND FRENCH WAR COMMISSIONERS AT MT. VERNON

1, Admiral Cocheprat, of the French Navy; 2, Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; 3, Marshal Joffre; 4, René Viviani, head of the French Commission; 5, Secretary Lansing; 6, Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, head of the British Commission; 7, Hon. George E. Foster, of the Canadian Cabinet; 8, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, British Ambassador; 9, Lieut.-Gen. C. T. M. Bridges, of the British Commission, and 10, Marquis de Chambrun, a descendant of Lafayette

out a word. At the State Capitol an official reception was arranged for them. From the moment when they stept from their train at Springfield until they departed, an hour and a half later, they were met everywhere with cheers and waving tricolors. Soldiers who lined the streets stood at attention. Lines of school children waved flags and cheered

MARSHAL JOFFRE AND M. VIVIANI AT LINCOLN'S TOMB IN SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

enthusiastically as they passed. As their train in leaving drew out of the station, Marshal Joffre stooped down from the platform and kissed two little girls drest to represent the United States and France. On May 9 in Philadelphia M. Viviani hailed Independence Hall, in which he then stood, as the "Birthplace of the Liberty of the World." He and Marshal Joffre had been escorted from the Broad Street station through flag-draped and closely packed lanes of cheering humanity to the room where the Declaration of Independence was signed. They afterward stood in silence for

a moment before the Liberty Bell, where Marshal Joffre tiptoed forward and kissed the bell and M. Viviani followed him, each doing so without a word or a cheer coming from the crowd that surrounded them. When M. Viviani shook the Mayor's hand he implanted a kiss upon his cheek. Before leaving the building Marshal Joffre was presented with a silver-mounted marshal's baton, made from wood taken out of a rafter in the roof of the hall. He returned thanks in a low, almost inaudible, voice. "I thank you," he said. "In this Hall of Independence where true liberty was first proclaimed, I wish to convey to the people of Philadelphia and of the United States the greetings of the French army and the gratitude of the people of France to America for its fidelity to the Allied cause." Turning to M. Viviani, he jokingly remarked: "See, I have now a piece of real independence."

After a brief stop at the recruiting station in the Hall, the party was taken in automobiles to other historic places in Philadelphia. At Christ Church, where Washington worshiped, they rose in their places saluting. Before the Betsy Ross House, where the first flag was made, they also stood at salute. On the stone slab above the grave of Benjamin Franklin a memorial wreath was placed. They were then taken through Fairmount Park, where they paused to salute the statue of Joan of Arc. In the house of William Penn, a sword was presented to Marshal Joffre, twenty children from each grammar-school and an equal number from high schools, with deputations from suburban schools, being present. The presentation was made by a young lady who spoke in French.

The Italian Mission, on their return from the West, reached Philadelphia on June 20, and for thirteen hours the city rang with its welcome. Women cried like babies as they shouted "Vivas!" in trembling voices, while men roared until the entire scene became a bedlam. Broad Street was choked by an immense throng that was estimated as high as 100,000. The Italian districts were deserted for the day to make a holiday and pour out lavish greetings. Italians came from store, shop, tenement, and bank, a picturesque multitude. It seemed as if each person had either the flag of

Italy or the Stars and Stripes in his hand. Dozens of societies stood at attention as their countrymen rolled by. The sight of larger standards towering high above the crowd and running in numbers literally into the hundreds, made a veritable forest of waving, dancing colors that was kaleidoscopic. Time and again in response to a demonstration Signor Marconi was compelled to stand in his car and bow to plaudits.

The sight of this trim, dapper inventor, in the uniform of a sailor, set thousands into wild outbursts of cheering. Women held up their babies for him to pat, and he did so as he passed along in triumphal progress. Sons of Italy, parading under the names of scores of societies, marched past cheering like mad, and throwing their hats into the air in an exuberance that no Anglo-Saxons could duplicate or even approach. When, later in the day, twenty thousand persons massed about the Columbus and Verdi statues in Fairmount Park wreaths were placed on the statues. In the evening came an official dinner. Fifty thousand persons next morning jammed the sidewalks during a pilgrimage made by the envoys to Independence Hall—a multitude not less exuberant and enthusiastic than the throng which greeted them on their arrival. The guests were afterward entertained at a luncheon at the Manufacturers' Club, where the final stop of the day was made. At their departure from the Reading Terminal, which was decorated lavishly with flags of both nations, the envoys carried with them an urgent plea from the Mayor that, when peace came to bind up a world then torn asunder, the pact might be signed in Independence Hall.

New York, on the afternoon of May 9, welcomed M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre as no other men had ever been greeted by Manhattan Island. Streets running north and south, east and west, were filled with the roar of probably a million voices and the color of thousands of banners. About Pier A, where the visitors landed, a court of honor had been set up, composed of white and gilt posts, roped together with evergreens and bearing medallion heads of Britannia and La France. Within this court waited the automobiles of the reception committee, the chairman of which was Joseph H. Choate. A squadron of mounted police hemmed

them in. Beyond was Squadron A drawn up as a guard of honor. Back of the court, held in check by hundreds of policemen, were twenty thousand persons. When the red cap of the Marshal was first seen at the doorway of the pier, the voice of New York spoke for the first time, not in distinct cheering, but as a solid, mounting roar that swelled and ebbed like surf in a great storm. Automobile horns and the bugles of cavalry only now and then were able to pierce the din. Not until three hours later, when the doors of the Henry C. Frick mansion on Fifth Avenue at Seventieth Street closed upon the visitors for the night, did the cry of greeting die away.

When the long line of automobiles began to move from the Battery to Broadway, they had to make their way between packed and cheering thousands. Before them clattered the hoofs of the horses of mounted police and Squadron A. Never could the police entirely control the crowd. At times it broke through like a river in flood. Men and boys waved small flags, tossed hats in the air, screamed until their voices cracked. Above all on the high walls of buildings flags waved in the breeze—the Stars and Stripes, the Union Jack, the tricolor. From side to side of the canyon-like thoroughfare filaments floated like strands of spider's web and snow seemed to fall from roofs, effects produced by rolls of ticker-tape and showers of confetti. Voices often became shrill from over-exertion. Some of them could still pierce through the deep roar, but they were like the squealings of fifes. In the first automobile were Marshal Joffre, M. Viviani, and Mr. Choate. It was often noted that when the roar of cheers was greatest the imperturbable Marshal was calmly looking up at skyscrapers. He seemed to be counting the stories and once was heard to say, as if talking to himself, *"Vingt-et-un."*

After word came that M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre had landed at the Battery, cheers were heard rolling up Broadway. As they came nearer, swarms about the park edged in closer only to be pushed back by the police, little knots in windows leaned out further, men on the street-car roofs risked tumbling as they craned their necks for a first sight of the man who won at the Marne. First to be seen were

the busbies and bare sabers of Squadron A, halting at the entrance to the park to salute as the visitors went past. As a troop of mounted police galloped into the Plaza, the Seventh Regiment band struck up the "Marseillaise." On the heels of the police came the car in which was Marshal Joffre. The crowd needed only the sight of his red cap to shout and cheer. Cries that rose from the enclosing walls of skyscrapers came back in redoubled echoes. Mr. Choate and M. Viviani got out first, then Marshal Joffre. The red cap, the fluttering blue-gray cape that gave a glimpse of red trousers, were signals enough; cheers broke forth, wave after wave, rising in greater volume and lasting until the whole automobile party had climbed the steps and passed into the building. On the steps stood men of the Old Guard, sabers at salute, and wearing their great bearskins, reminiscent of another Old Guard that had fought a hundred years before under another great soldier of France. To the left and right were members of the Veteran Corps of Artillery. Inside the lobby gleamed patent-leather shakoes and white duck trousers on members of the Society of the War of 1812, and the buff and blue of the Sons of the Revolution, whose forefathers had greeted Frenchmen on the same spot.

Through lines of officers, with swords at salute, the visitors strode up the central stairway and turned into the Governor's room, the southern end of which had been cleared for their reception. There Mayor Mitchel, General Wood, General Bell, Admiral Usher and civilian members of the Mayor's Committee had gathered to receive the visitors and listen to speeches by the Mayor, Mr. Choate, and M. Viviani. Long and continuous was the applause that followed M. Viviani when he closed his speech, and as it died away Mayor Mitchel said: "Gentlemen, I now present to you the great Marshal of France, who stopt them at the Marne." Silk hats went into the air again, the cheering resounding with deafening force. Marshal Joffre had stood through all the previous ceremonies in Olympian serenity; nothing about him moved except his eyes, restlessly flashing this way and that under jutting gray eyebrows. With his calm still unruffled, he saluted the audience. Not content with salutes, they cheered continuously, louder and louder, until he sud-

denly broke into a childlike smile of amazing sweetness and kissed his hand to every part of the room.

There was a sort of informal reception after that, with everybody pressing forward to shake hands with the Commissioners, who afterward made a brief tour of the City Hall, and then passed out between double lines of saluting swords to the automobiles in waiting, where the crowd still lingered, massed about the park, clinging to the roofs of street-cars, and blocking every window in the sky-scraper walls. Bands again burst into the "Marseillaise" and children began to sing it, as the long line of automobiles were slowly filled and driven out of the eastern end of the park, to begin a long journey northward to the Henry C. Frick mansion, passing on the way the Lafayette Statue in Union Square, which had been provided with an elaborate setting of evergreen hedge, colored columns and flags of France and the United States. When the automobiles had passed away from the City Hall, artillerymen in khaki followed; then the Old Guard, and last of all the school-girls, marching by fours with the precision of veterans.

JOFFRE PLEASED WITH HIS STATUE OF LIBERTY IN SOLID GOLD.
This miniature replica of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor was presented to the Marshal in Central Park during his visit in 1917

The next day's activities began early. Fifth Avenue was only comfortably filled with spectators because almost every one in the neighborhood had hurried to the North Meadow in Central Park, where 20,000 school-children in white

blouses and tricolor sashes had gathered for the presentation to Marshal Joffre of a miniature in solid gold of the Statue of Liberty on a silver base, purchased with money raised by popular subscription through the efforts of the New York *World*. The presentation was made in a handsomely decorated pavilion, where fifty thousand or more persons stood in the meadow, or on the rocky slopes that enclose it.

The journey back to the Frick mansion was made through crowded lanes of people, who filled the sidewalks along Fifth Avenue. Other throngs were soon encountered in Fourth, Lafayette and Canal Streets, by which course the French visitors were to reach Manhattan Bridge; for Brooklyn was now to have an opportunity of paying homage to Marshal Joffre and M. Viviani. Brooklyn offered a tribute that would have exceeded the welcome accorded the day before by Manhattan had that been possible. From the moment when the motor-cars bearing the French visitors glided off the bridge, they proceeded through closely banked crowds of men and women, of girls garbed in white, and of boys waving American and French flags. All along the route to the Ninth Street entrance to Prospect Park, where Marshal Joffre was to unveil a statue of Lafayette, and back to the bridge afterward, the motor-cars never escaped dense throngs of shouting admirers. Only when they entered upon the bridge, from which the police had barred spectators, did the crowd cease. On the Brooklyn side of the bridge school-children lined the plaza several deep, each waving a flag. The crowds were denser than in Manhattan. School-children lined every thoroughfare. In Sackett Street young women of Adelphi Academy in caps and gowns stood at the curb and cheered. In Plaza Street, extending along the park, school-children were stationed on a grassy slope where they waved colored handkerchiefs so appertioned as to form an animated flag of France.

When the Marshal and M. Viviani reached the Hotel Astor at 1.30 o'clock, to attend a luncheon given by the Merchants' Association, the speedometer on the car showed that they had traversed more than thirty miles of city streets and park roadways since leaving the Frick home that morning. All this time, save on the bridge, they had traveled be-

tween admiring throngs of spectators. The assemblage at this luncheon was seated in the grand ball-room and the side chambers opening into it, and numbered nearly 2,000—the fortunate firstcomers of more than 10,000 applicants for tickets. Five hundred more sat in the galleries. Everywhere the American flag was the dominant feature of the decorations—indeed, the only feature, except that above the Chairman and the guests of honor were to be seen the orange, white, and blue of the city flag draped on the wall and above it an American flag flanked by the French tricolor and the British merchant-marine ensign.

After the luncheon the French Commission motored back to the Frick mansion to prepare for their trip to Columbia University, where was conferred on M. Viviani, Marshal Joffre, Mr. Balfour (by proxy), and Lord Cunliffe, Governor of the Bank of England, the degree of Doctor of Laws, the occasion being, as President Nicholas Murray Butler exprest it, one of the most notable in Columbia's history. The exercises were held in the open air on the steps of the library facing One Hundred and Sixteenth Street, and were witnessed by thousands. Marshal Joffre was the figure upon whom all eyes were focused. Dr. Butler, in conferring on him the highest degree which the university can offer, said the recipient had made the name of the River Marne as immortal as Miltiades made that of Marathon. The great throng wildly shouted its full approval of this tribute. When M. Viviani stood up to receive his degree, the crowds cheered with an enthusiasm that was heard to the river-banks. Before the ceremonies Marshal Joffre and M. Viviani had proceeded directly into the library, accompanied by President Butler, in order to greet, in the name of the French Republic, Mr. and Mrs. John Jay Chapman, the parents of Sergeant Victor E. Chapman, the young American aviator who had been killed in action at Verdun in June, 1916, one of the famous fliers of an American group fighting with the French on the Western Front.

After this ceremony Marshal Joffre went directly to Grant's tomb, accompanied by M. Viviani and other members of the Commission. Descending alone into the crypt he climbed a stepladder that had been hurriedly requisitioned

as a means by which he might reach the top of the sarcophagus, in which rest the remains of the Union commander. There he deposited a wreath of laurel, held together by the colors of France and America. Above at the circular stone-rail with bared heads stood the other members of the Commission, Mayor Mitchel, General Leonard Wood, General Daniel Appleton, and a few others. The police estimated that at least 25,000 people had gathered outside the Tomb. It was an impressive scene when the French soldier below in the darkened crypt, at the top of the ladder, paid this tribute to the great soldier of another era and of another war for human liberty. After he had arranged the wreath, he stept back and stood at attention, his hand at salute, uttered a few words in French, so low that they were inaudible in that stillness even to those above him. After a brief inspection of the battle-flags, Marshal Joffre reappeared on the floor above. From Grant's tomb the visitors went to the Joan of Arc statue at Riverside Drive and Ninety-third Street, where Marshal Joffre placed a wreath of laurel at the base of the monument, the crowd meanwhile silent, men and boys baring their heads. The ceremony was as brief as it was impressive, and was over in less than five minutes. The party then went through Seventy-ninth Street and Central Park to the Frick mansion to prepare for the events of the evening.

At 10.30 Marshal Joffre stood in the great reading-room of the Public Library where clerks give out books as taken off the dumb-waiter, and made the third of his four brief speeches of the day to a pushing crowd that almost overwhelmed him, despite the moderating influence of a large body of policemen. He had stopt there for a few minutes only while on his way to the Metropolitan Opera House. The decorations and lighting about the library provided a spectacle that New York had seldom if ever surpassed. A pillared court of honor was built along Fifth Avenue from Fortieth to Forty-second Street; its columns wreathed with evergreens and surmounted by urns, American eagles and symbolic medallions at each column with the draped flags of the twelve Allies. From the marble balustrade in front of the library-terrace three tall poles were raised on either side

of the entrance, and from their cross-bars hung long banners bearing devices of the American eagle, the British lion and the Gallic cock. Hundreds of Chinese lanterns glowed along the terrace and the white façade. There were lights beneath each window, shining brightly on navy recruiting posters pasted on the panes. There were lights hidden behind the cornices, lights everywhere along the deeply indented walls. The twin fountains by the side of the great entrance were also illuminated, the water splashing in a constant sparkle of light. The handling of immense crowds along the avenue and in every cross-street by policemen was in notable contrast to confusion inside.

When Marshal Joffre, with Governor Whitman, stept into a box fronting the stage at the Metropolitan Opera House, the great audience rose to its feet, forgetting that Paderewski was playing a masterpiece. With a wide sweep of his right hand the Marshal saluted, as the audience cheered and sang the "Marseillaise." It was one of the most inspiring scenes the Opera House had ever witnessed. When Madame Homer, after singing the first verse of the National Anthem, stept to the front of the stage and waved the flag, the tremendous audience joined in with a demonstration that made Marshal Joffre almost drop his cap while he was applauding. When the song was finished, the audience by a common impulse turned to look at the distinguished guest who saluted and applauded again. With his military aide he went away thirty minutes later. The affair had been arranged by the Marshal Joffre Committee; the receipts, which exceeded $86,000, being turned over to the Marshal for French war-orphans.

Appearing as the first lawyer of France before the lawyers of New York, M. Viviani, while Marshal Joffre was at West Point, on May 11, spoke at a luncheon at the Biltmore given by the Bar Association. He said he felt at home among 900 lawyers and talked as if he did, his efforts unrestrained, his gesture profuse, and at all times eloquent. A half-dozen times he swept his auditors to their feet in wild cheers.

New York, after three tumultuous days devoted to M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre, rallied gallantly to the task of making the British Commission welcome. What might have

been a painful anti-climax achieved, however, the full flavor of a triumph. Landing at the Battery, Mr. Balfour was taken to the City Hall in a car, seated with Mr. Choate, and was closely followed by Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador. Then came in long procession the mili-

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MR. BALFOUR AT THE NEW YORK CITY HALL
Mayor Mitchel is receiving him as introduced by Joseph H. Choate

tary, naval and diplomatic members of the Commission. The officers all wore khaki, the only uniform which British officers were allowed to wear till the end of the war, its monotony relieved by an occasional touch of scarlet ribbon. Naval officers, too, were in service uniform. Just inside the entrance to the City Hall Mayor Mitchel met and greeted

the guests. Proceeding into the building and then upstairs, Mayor Mitchel and Mr. Balfour led the way, Mr. Choate and Ambassador Spring-Rice next and Frank L. Polk, Counselor of the State Department, following, just ahead of the military members of the Commission. The party marched between a double line of saluting swords in the hands of members of the Veteran Corps of Artillery. Officers saluted the colors of the corps as they passed on the landing of the circular stairway.

Guests of the Mayor, who had assembled, set up a loud cheer as the party walked in. Mr. Balfour took his stand on the dais where the French Commissioners had received the City's welcome two days before, with Sir Cecil Spring-Rice on his right. After another burst of cheering, with much waving of the flags of the Allied nations from the gallery and of silk hats from the floor, the Mayor extended his formal welcome. Mr. Choate was asked to speak on behalf of the citizens of New York. Mr. Balfour had listened with evidence of deep emotion to the addresses of welcome. When it was his turn to respond he found his voice breaking several times. He spoke rather slowly, seeming to find his feelings were interfering with his choice of words. His seriousness was reflected in the spirit that fell upon the audience. They had given him a demonstration equal in volume and intensity to that which had been accorded to the Marshal of France. When he began to speak they listened with deep and solemn earnestness, as if realizing the tremendous import of his visit. They applauded when he declared that America would share the trials and the triumphs of the European Allies; they applauded again when he said: "If there be faint hearts on the other side I have not heard of them." Throughout the speech it was evident that Mr. Balfour's hearers were fully imprest with his own earnestness, with his picture of America giving new inspiration to a terribly burdened but still courageous England.

After prolonged cheering the Commission passed out into the Plaza, and to automobiles through a lane opened in the crowd. On the route north Mr. Balfour was driven under the Washington Arch. The party proceeded thence to the Vincent Astor residence on upper Fifth Avenue, where Mr.

Balfour was to stay. Solid masses of people along the way shouted applause. The party headed by mounted police reached the Astor home at 5.15 o'clock, where they were greeted by Mrs. Astor and friends of the British officials, who had gathered to receive him. It so happened that as they reached the house, Marshal Joffre, returning from his visit to West Point, passed along in a motor-car, bound further north, for the Frick mansion. Mr. Balfour and Mrs. Astor discovered him and waved a greeting to the French soldier, who rose in his car and saluted them.

At the Waldorf-Astoria that night gathered probably the greatest assemblage of distinguished men connected with State affairs that New York ever saw brought together—Marshal Joffre, M. Viviani, Mr. Balfour, Rear Admiral de Chair, Vice Admiral Chocheprat, Lieutenant General Bridges, Marquis de Chambrun, Lord Cumliffe, Colonel Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Charles E. Hughes, Governor Whitman, Mayor Mitchel and fifteen hundred other well-known men. Eminent citizens of New York, in dress-coats and fine linen, with ladies in the boxes in gay silks and bare arms and shoulders, yelled as loudly, as long and as enthusiastically as had other and plainer citizens in public streets.

The dinner was the crowning event of the Commission's sojourn in New York. An electric display of the flags of the three Allies hung from the Fifth Avenue side of the hotel. Thousands of persons had packed the sidewalks waiting for members of the two Commissions to arrive. The crowd extended far below and above the hotel and backed away for several hundred feet into side streets. With voices not at all weakened by two days of shouting, men and women vociferously hailed the visitors as their automobiles rolled down the avenue. The mighty explosion that shook the room as the British and French Commissioners entered, escorted by officials of the state and city, was the first salvo in a bombardment that lasted through the evening.

When M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre left the Waldorf at 11.30 that night their appearance on the street was again marked by great cheers from a crowd which still completely filled all spaces. Scores of secret service men and detectives

were there keeping close watch. It was twenty minutes to twelve when they entered the waiting-room at the Grand Central station, still surrounded by secret service men. Here they held an animated conversation for several minutes, at the close of which they embraced each other with a kiss on each cheek and then went aboard different private cars on adjoining tracks. Marshal Joffre left for Boston and M. Viviani for Toronto. By a late arrangement, Boston was to share with Ottawa in entertaining the member of the French Mission during a two days' period that was originally set apart for Boston alone. M. Viviani, in accordance with this plan, went to Toronto and Ottawa, and was to reach Boston a day later. Marshal Joffre meanwhile, after a day in Boston, was to go to Montreal.

Next day, before more than a thousand members and guests of the New York Chamber of Commerce, gathered at noon in the Assembly Room of the institution, Mr. Balfour declared that it had been a dream of his life that the two "English-speaking, freedom-loving branches of the human race" might be drawn closer together and the causes of old differences between them seen in their true and just proportions. His address, as were two he had made on the previous day, was delivered in a voice disturbed with emotion and marked by hesitation as if seeking for phrases to give exact and adequate expression to his feelings. He addrest himself to Americans, not as foreigners, nor yet as men all sprung from British origins, but as joint heirs with modern Britons of the traditions of a great social and political past.

Standing beneath entwined British and American flags at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Sunday morning, May 13, the Episcopal Bishop of the Philippines, in the presence of Mr. Balfour, other members of the British Commission and Mr. Choate, pledged America to fight for World Democracy. Mr. Balfour and those with him sat in a section especially reserved within full sight of 2,200 persons. They beheld above them, in the lofty dome, flags of the Allied nations, heard Great Britain eulogized as having gone to France to "save the fate of the world," listened to a prayer for King George V, and heard the organ blend with more than 2,000 voices singing "God Save the King" and

"America." After this service Mr. Balfour and Mr. Choate said their farewells to one another. Mr. Choate's last words, often recalled two days later when his death was announced, were, "Remember, we shall meet again to celebrate the victory."

Late in the afternoon Mr. Balfour paid a four-hour visit to Colonel Roosevelt at Sagamore Hill, staying for tea. The trip was the result of an invitation given by Colonel Roosevelt at the Mayor's dinner at the Waldorf. Mr. Balfour was escorted to the city limits by motor-cycle policemen and thence all the way to and from Oyster Bay by three cars full of secret service men. At Sagamore Hill Colonel Roosevelt took him for a walk over his estate, which was bright with the green of spring. Mr. Balfour left Oyster Bay about 10 o'clock, the Colonel waving him a good-by from the veranda. In New York he drove direct to the Pennsylvania station to join other members of his party on board a special train leaving for Washington at midnight.

Marshal Joffre on May 11 (which was during his visit to New York), left the city for the day, accompanied by the military members of the French Commission, in order to visit West Point and make a short stay at Washington's Headquarters near Newburgh, where he was to be made the official guest of New York State. Marshal Joffre was greeted with cheers from thousands in Newburgh and at Washington's Headquarters, which stands to-day practically in the same condition it was in 1784, overlooking the river a short distance below the town. Governor Whitman in extending the official welcome pledged all the resources of the State to the cause of the Allies. Marshal Joffre received here from the hands of a little girl a large gold medal, commemorating his visit, that had been bought with a fund made up from dimes contributed by children. From Justice Pendleton, of the Supreme Court, he received official notification of his election to honorary membership in the Society of the Cincinnati. This was the first time in history that a person not a descendant of a Revolutionary soldier had ever been elected to membership in this order. Marshal Joffre then went to West Point, where he passed most of the afternoon. He had a simple luncheon with officers of the regular army,

all West Point graduates, most of whom spoke French; motored through the beautiful wooded Highlands behind the point, and when it was all over said that so long as he might live his afternoon at West Point would be one of his dearest and most cherished memories. He seemed as care-free as a school-boy. "He has been so happy that it's a pity he has to go so soon," said one of his staff officers. A finer day could not have been asked for. All that morning the whole reservation had been on tiptoe, so to speak, in anticipation of the coming of the highest ranking field-commander in the world. Other great soldiers from foreign lands, among them Kitchener, had been officially received at West Point and had reviewed the West Point cadets, but never before had the cadets been reviewed by a Marshal of France. There were no decorations. West Point was, as it is on every other day in the year, just West Point and nothing more.

When the special train arrived at the little station at the foot of the hill, one saw drawn up the Black Troopers of the regular army stationed at West Point, every one of them a veteran of the Ninth or Tenth regular cavalry. As the head of the cavalry appeared over the crest of the hill, a battery of field-artillery, stationed near the Battle Monument, began to thunder out the Marshal's salute of seventeen guns. The entire corps of cadets, to the number of 600, was in parade formation and in single file, the line of gray-coated young men forming a great semi-circle which extended from the old to the new barracks. The West Point band, massed on the plain in front of the barracks, played the "Marseillaise." Of the cadets whom the Marshal saw, perhaps 200 would be fighting in France before another year rolled around. "It is splendid and wonderful," Marshal Joffre exclaimed, as he looked into the faces of that long line. For a moment he stopt at the historic house which has been the residence of West Point superintendents from the days of Robert E. Lee to the present. At 1 o'clock an army luncheon was served in the officers' mess-hall in the club building, where awaiting him were the tactical and academic staffs of the Academy, every arm of the service represented. The Marshal felt himself immediately at home. Lieutenant de Tessan

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MARSHAL JOFFRE REVIEWING CADETS AT WEST POINT

stood by, expecting to be called into service as an interpreter, but practically every officer present could converse with Marshal Joffre in his native tongue. The meal was served on a single long table that reached almost the full length of the room.

It was 2.49 when the shrill tones of bugles announced that Marshal Joffre and his escort were about to leave the mess-hall and review the corps. As he was escorted to the reviewing field, the cheers that greeted him were such as West Point hears only on big athletic occasions when West Point has won a game. Across the great parade green passed company after company of cadets, each marching in perfect alinement and every man as erect and as soldierly as Koehler, the "king of physical trainers," could make them. From somewhere a company would suddenly appear and march across the field. A moment later another would come from the opposite direction, and then another would come, until eight were on the plain at the same time, some going this way, others going that, each unconsciously, it seemed, performing all sorts of military evolutions. Time and again Marshal Joffre uttered an enthusiastic word of praise. All this time a band was playing, sometimes an American, sometimes a French air.

For fifteen minutes the maneuvers lasted, and then the corps formed in regimental front for review. Marshal Joffre stept forward until he stood alone three paces in front of Colonel Biddle and others of the reviewing escort. From end to end along the whole line Marshal Joffre slowly walked, and looked into the eyes of every cadet. The look was serious, but at the same time sympathetic. As he returned to his post, the crowd gave him a great ovation, and then the eight companies went stepping briskly by in company front, their alinement perfect. The Marshal's face was a study as they passed by. There was real expression, something like eloquence, or high command, in the salute he gave to every company commander as he passed at the head of his unit. In less than half an hour it was all over.

At 3.30 he left the enclosure to return to New York, the entire corps parading once more as a farewell tribute. Again and again he bowed in acknowledgment of the honor. The

Black Horsemen cantered ahead of his automobile on the way down to the station, the Superintendent and other officers following. Until the train disappeared around the curve that leads to Highland Falls all West Point stood at attention.

When the Italian Mission came to New York, on June 11, it found itself in a city which had a greater Italian population than Genoa, Florence, Venice or Messina. The largest of these cities, Genoa, had a population in 1911 of 272,000, but there were now in New York 341,000 Italian-born people, or the same number as Palermo had in 1911. Naples had 723,000, Milan 599,000, Rome 543,000, Turin 427,000, but no other Italian city outranked New York. American eyes had followed with wonder, almost with incredulity, the deeds of the Italian army in this war. It had had to fight against three allies, Austria, Germany and nature. These Romans of our day had performed feats in war which the ancient Romans had never surpassed. It was with Italy as with France. The world, which had visualized France as a volatile nation, had been dumbfounded to see in her all the virtues which had been supposed to be specifically characteristic of more sober nations—gravity, silence, determination, method—and the same virtues had been displayed in equal measure by Italy, which also had been visualized as a pleasure-loving nation.

The Italian Commissioners reached New York in the afternoon, landing at the Battery, where the crowd was almost as numerous and no less enthusiastic than those which had welcomed the French and British Commissions at the same place. The party crossed Battery Place and turned up Broadway through a tumult of cheering from crowds grouped in masses on the curb, blocking the doorways of great office buildings, jammed on the steps of the Custom House and leaning from every window of tall buildings. As the procession passed the Equitable Building, some one sent down a shower of paper that looked like confetti. Streamers of ticker-tape were flung down all the way to the City Hall. The preparations made in and around the City Hall in many details were similar to those made for the French and British guests. The Italian flag flew from the City Hall

with the Stars and Stripes and Italian colors prominent in a Court of Honor, which had been built opposite the front of the building. In this court 5,000 school-children, most of them of Italian parentage, were drawn up. Around the square on all sides were crowds, blocking traffic in Broadway, Park Row, and Chambers Street—men also in sky-scraper windows on Broadway and Nassau Streets, on the cornices and ledges of the Post Office, in the windows far up on the sides of the Woolworth Building.

It was just 4 o'clock when the head of the procession turned into City Hall Park and filed upstairs to the reception-room, decorated in evergreens, with the Italian and American flags draped at either side of the dais at the eastern end. Here they were greeted by the Mayor, whose speech brought frequent applause, and particularly his reference to the recent Italian victories, which stirred vigorous cheering from his hearers, who included many of the leading Italian citizens of New York. The Prince was cheered vigorously when Mayor Mitchel introduced him. Responding with a bow and smile, he drew from a pocket a manuscript and read his speech in excellent English. The line of march northward skirted the two principal Italian colonies of the city, where every one came out to see the Prince and his associates. From almost every window floated the tricolor of Italy and the American flag. The procession passed up Centre Street to Lafayette and thence to Fourth Street. All along the line were the same scenes, the same cheers, the same colors, the difference only one of degree and not much of that. At Fourth Street the party turned west and drove to Washington Square. Here the Italian settlements south of Washington Square had literally poured out thousands. The masses along the southern side of the square and on either side of the driveway through Fourth Street to the arch were, if possible, more thickly packed than they were downtown.

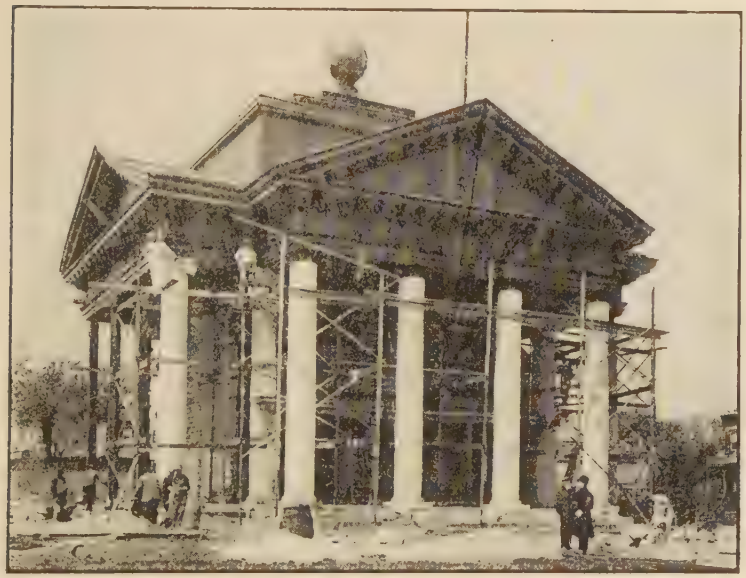
Here had been set another Court of Honor, with the Garibaldi statue as its center. Long blue banners with the shields of the two nations hung from poles with pillars surrounded by clusters of palms and evergreens. A semi-circle, of which the chief color was red, rose behind the statue of

the Liberator, who was shown in the act of drawing his sword. Crowds of school-children, and school-bands, appeared in gorgeous uniforms. When the procession halted, the Prince and his aide stept out of the first car, Mayor Mitchel and the officer with him standing by the curb, while the Prince laid a wreath of evergreens on the pedestal, saluted, stood a moment in silence contemplating the figure of the man who had played the most spectacular part in the unification of modern Italy, and then turned back to his car. Mayor Mitchel gave a dinner in the evening at the Plaza to eighty-five local guests, with Governor Whitman as the chief speaker. Streets about the Plaza and in the square around the fountain were packed with a crowd as thick as any that had been seen in lower Manhattan. The decorations made a brilliant scene.

That afternoon the Prince went to Staten Island to pay tribute to the memory of General Garibaldi, who in the early fifties found a haven in the United States, making his home in a little frame-house that stands on the crest of a hill at Rosebank. Besides making candles, Garibaldi engaged in a shipping enterprise from which he made a little money with which to build the house on the island of Caprera, that remained his home long afterward. The Prince received a welcome such as he said he had never before witnessed. The police estimated that 50,000 and perhaps 100,000 Italians took part in the demonstration, one of the most picturesque ever presented in New York. Along the State road over which the Prince passed on the way to the Garibaldi memorial Italians—men, women, and children —were massed on each side for a mile and a half, and at every fifty yards there was a brass band. Each band played either the National Anthem of America or of Italy, and everybody waved a flag, and some two. The result was a moving picture dominated by the red, white, and blue of America and the green, white, and red of Italy.

In that great throng at least half the men were in uniform. A thousand silken banners told whence they came. Some were from Philadelphia and others from Poughkeepsie. One delegation was from Bound Brook, another from Trenton, and others from Mount Vernon, Yonkers and

Bridgeport. It seemed that hardly a city or village within 100 miles of New York had failed to send the bulk of its Italian population. New York, the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens were represented by scores of delegations. The little house in which Garibaldi lived is now an Italian shrine, enclosed in another and more pretentious building. In the rooms are still preserved some of the humble furniture which the Italian patriot used. To accommodate the thou-



GARIBALDI'S HOUSE ON STATEN ISLAND

In this frame house, seen behind the columns of a more permanent brick and stone edifice in process of construction, Garibaldi lived for a few years in an interval between two of Italy's wars for unification

sands who were expected to journey to Staten Island every available municipal ferry-boat had been put into service. Even a schedule that called for every trip possible to the number of boats in service failed to get all the Italians to Rosebank in time. They were still coming in by fifties and hundreds when the Prince and his party arrived at 4 o'clock, and they were going home for some hours after the Prince had waved his farewells.

The entertainment of the Italian Mission began next day with a celebration at the City College Stadium. Afterward they drove to Grant's tomb, where the Prince laid a wreath on the sarcophagus. "Viva l'Italia!" "Viva l'America!" "Viva Marconi!" "Viva Savoia"—these were the cries raised again and again in the Stadium by 20,000 voices and echoed from the streets, hills, and housetops around it. The whole Italian population of the city and suburbs seemed to have assembled in that neighborhood with one mind and was wild with enthusiasm. Members of the Italian Mission spent June 15 in Boston, except that Signor Marconi remained in New York, in order to visit a public school that bore his name in an Italian district on the upper East Side. He went to this school that day and talked to the boys.

On July 6 New York gave its first official welcome to free Russia, when the War Mission, headed by Ambassador Bakhmetieff, landed at the Battery. It was a welcome unrestrained in cordiality and good fellowship. The immense crowd that gathered in Battery Park began cheering as soon as the sirens of harbor-craft had announced the arrival of the Russians by ferry from across the river. For spontaneity and genuine enthusiasm, the ovation, as it continued up Broadway to the City Hall, was equaled only by the reception given to M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre. After the ceremony at the City Hall the envoys drove northward through the streets still flanked with cheering throngs to the residence of Adolph Lewisohn, on upper Fifth Avenue, where they were to have their home during their stay.

A few weeks later, indeed after the British and French Commissions had arrived safely home, the Belgian Mission, with Baron Moncheur at its head, came to New York for a visit. For many days after the Belgians left Washington for their visit to the West and the Pacific Coast word had occasionally come from them through the press of meeting everywhere with enthusiastic receptions on their journey across the continent and back. The Japanese Mission arrived in New York in the afternoon of September 27, for a five-day visit which was filled with as cordial and varied entertainments as New York could provide.

Mr. Balfour, M. Viviani, and Marshal Joffre had all reached Washington again by the morning of May 14. A few hours afterward, at 11.30 P.M., Joseph H. Choate died suddenly at his home in New York. Mr. Choate had long been recognized as New York's first citizen. Altho he had celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday on January 25, he had displayed extraordinary vitality as chairman of the reception committee during all the incidents of this welcome to the British and French Commissions, even to the last, when on Sunday, May 13, he went with Mr. Balfour to the Cathedral of St. John the Divine for the morning service. Widely as the public loss was felt, the time and manner of has death were recognized as having in them something fit and beautiful. His death was believed to have been hastened by his great exertions; in fact, he had made those exertions against the advice of his physician and against his own judgment as to the risk he was taking.

The chief members of the British and French Missions prepared soon to return to their countries, and were to depart unannounced. M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre had interviews with President Wilson on May 14 which were in the nature of farewells. Mr. Balfour spent practically that whole day in resting, but did not depart from Washington for ten days. He had first to arrange for a permanent British office in Washington in charge of experts in military and naval affairs, and Lord Northcliffe was soon to arrive from London to take charge of important matters with an office in New York.

There yet remained for Mr. Balfour a few more appearances in public. On May 17 he and other members of his Mission who had received degrees from Oxford or Cambridge, were made honorary members of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at an impressive ceremony in the building in Washington where they had their headquarters. The election came from the Alpha Chapter of Virginia, which was founded at William and Mary College in 1776. On May 19 Mr. Balfour went with other members of the British mission to Richmond, where they received a most hospitable welcome. The old Confederate capital made memorable this brief call of courtesy on the South. Automobiles first took the party

through the crowded, cheering, flag-decked lines of people, and then to the Governor's mansion for luncheon. The house was decorated with the Stars and Stripes, the Union Jack, and the tricolor. A brilliant assemblage of Virginians greeted Mr. Balfour. After the luncheon Lieutenant General Bridges placed wreaths for the British army at the statues of Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson.

The conferences in Washington now entered their final stages. American and British alike were extremely gratified that there had been no disagreement or obstacle raised to their success. By working night and day, all leading phases of the war problems that the United States desired to take up had been considered and agreements reached. Mr. Balfour on May 24 delivered a farewell address to the American people through the Washington correspondents, who had gathered for the purpose at the National Press Club. It was the last speech made by the British statesman in the United States. He had that day called on President Wilson at the White House for the last time. Mr. Balfour unannounced left Washington that night and crossed the Canadian border the next morning. Thus ended the round of visits by the British and French Commissioners to American and Canadian cities. Marshal Joffre had said little at the end, but that little was unmistakable in its meaning. "A memory most dear, which I will cherish until my dying day," was his comment on the great welcome. "There was never anything like it!" exclaimed Viviani. "After this, they can attack me as much as they like." President Wilson's last words to Viviani were "we are brothers in the same cause"—a remark which Viviani on more than one public occasion afterward recalled in Paris. Mr. Balfour, in his last public speech in New York, delivered in Carnegie Hall, had said: "This certainly is a most glorious termination of one of the most glorious episodes in the history of international relations. This linking together of the two English-speaking countries creates happiness not only for the present generation but for generations yet unborn." Mr. Balfour here gave expression to thoughts which for days had been in the minds of Americans. As in George Canning's time, so now in ...rs, the new world had been called

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CAPITOL SQUARE, RICHMOND

On this square, in the Governor's mansion, Mr. Balfour and his associates were entertained. Here also stands the statue of Stonewall Jackson, at the base of which a wreath was deposited. Another wreath was placed on the statue of Gen. Robert E. Lee, on another site in Richmond. The building in the center is the State Capitol, the main part modeled after the famous Roman building at Nimes, in the south of France, known as the Maison Carré. Just below the square, as one goes toward the River James, stands St. Paul's Episcopal Church, where Jefferson Davis was at Sunday morning service on April 9th when a message from General Lee was taken up the aisle to him in his pew, advising the evacuation of the city. In another direction, not far beyond Capitol Square, is the building in which President Davis lived, and known as the Confederate White House

in "to redress the balance of the old." The event recalled a famous prophecy made by Count Aranda, Spanish Commissioner at the signing of the Treaty of Peace in Paris in 1782: "A federal republic is this day born a pigmy, but the day will come when to these countries here it will be formidable as a giant, even a colossus."

German newspapers strangely represented this welcome to Mr. Balfour, M. Viviani, and Marshal Joffre as having been "cold." They said the French had blundered in sending to America Marshal Joffre, who "could not speak a word of English." Marshal Joffre probably won every non-German heart in the country. Never was a famous world-hero so democratic, so utterly unspoiled, so unconscious of his fame. He often reminded Americans of their own Grant, each a great soldier with a simple heart.

As to the purpose of the Missions and what they had accomplished, it could be said that their objects had been threefold—to reach a complete understanding as to the prosecution of the war by the United States; to arrange for military and naval cooperation between the United States and her Allies; to discuss the financial assistance America would give, and to adjust questions of trade and shipping. On all points a satisfactory agreement had been reached. Mr. Balfour and the French Commissioners came with no suggestion of any political alliance, and President Wilson had made it known at once that there was no necessity for any formal compact. In other words, the understanding arrived at was what has sometimes been called "a gentlemen's agreement." The United States was drawn into the war much in the same way that Great Britain was driven to take up arms. No more than England had we gone to war for gain. Having been made to draw the sword, America was not to sheathe it until Prussia had ceased to be a menace to the peace of the world.

In Paris, enormous crowds, cheering tumultuously, welcomed home on May 23 the French Mission. Premier Ribot and other members of the Cabinet were at the station. "Why, this is like New York," said Marshal Joffre, as the automobile which conveyed him from the St. Lazare station was halted in the density of the crowd. Police lines were

broken through by throngs of spectators, who surrounded the automobile, waving flags and handkerchiefs.

The French Commissioners had arrived safely at Brest, the naval station in northwestern France, after a pleasant voyage devoid of encounters with mines or submarines. In leaving Washington they had chosen a night special train and had gone to the station singly, so as not to attract attention. In New York, the port of their embarkation, they boarded at midnight an armed ship, already in midstream, which sailed immediately. Marshal Joffre during the voyage home answered two hundred and thirty of some eight hundred unanswered letters, which had been brought on board by his aide. He and M. Viviani had received altogether a few thousand letters from Americans and regretted much that it had been impossible to answer all, particularly those from children. They undertook, however, to acknowledge all communications containing money, the total amount received for various charities in France, being about 2,000,000 francs.

One of M. Viviani's first duties in Paris was to present to President Poincaré a letter addrest to him by President Wilson. This missive, which was an unusually long document of its kind, was understood to embody the President's general acceptance of the French Government's suggestions as to the form American intervention should assume and to express profound sympathy with a friendly, altho informal, partnership between two nations. What the French call "*matériel*" — artillery, wagon-trains, motor-trucks, and drivers, all the technical corps that go to make up a combatant body—were to be supplied by the French for the present, but eventually, by the next spring at latest, it was expected that an American Expeditionary Force, several hundred thousand strong, as complete in every detail as the British army in 1916, would be in France. As matters turned out, there were in France by July 1, 1918, 1,000,000 American soldiers.

After the receptions in Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal—the latter on May 30—the public heard nothing of Mr. Balfour until June 8 when a cable dispatch from London announced that he had arrived home safely. Mr.

Balfour's voyage had been so wrapt in secrecy, as far as the public were concerned, that when he arrived home few in England had been aware that he was due. His safety brought much satisfaction to officials in Washington who had surrounded his visit and that of M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre with greater precautions and secrecy than probably ever were undertaken before in this country. He spoke in terms of warmest appreciation of his visit. Said he, "I have been more kindly treated than any man ever was before." [7]

[7] Abridged from a larger compilation on the same subject, published in a volume of 370 pages, by the Funk & Wagnalls Company, in the summer of 1917, under the title "Balfour, Viviani and Joffre." Compiled by Francis W. Halsey.

V

A GREATER FOOD SUPPLY, THE SELECTIVE DRAFT, RED CROSS AND OTHER WAR WORKERS, THE FIRST LIBERTY LOAN

April 6, 1917—October 27, 1917

PERSONAL responsibility for the outcome of the war was soon brought home to every man and woman in the United States by President Wilson's appeal stirring every one to enlist somehow in the great civilian army without whose whole-hearted services "mere fighting would be useless." While he asked the merchant and middlemen to "forego unusual profits," the railroad-man to see that the "arteries of the nation's life suffer no obstruction," the miner to remember that "if he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are useless," the manufacturer to "speed and perfect every process," and called upon all to correct the national fault of "wastefulness and extravagance," he emphasized most the imperative need of a greater food-supply.

This part of his appeal evoked an immediate and dramatic response, but Germany, deceiving herself as she was constantly doing, hailed with delight his declaration that "the supreme need of our own nation, and of the nations with which we are cooperating, is an abundance of supplies, and especially of foodstuffs," and his urgent call to "young men and old alike," to "turn in hosts to the farms." Professor Wygodzinski, an agricultural expert of Bonn University, became so convinced from the President's appeal that "Nemesis was knocking at America's door and famine staring her in the face," that he announced confidently that "on the American wheatfield the war will be decided—in our favor." The *Kölnische Zeitung*, which characterized the President's appeal as "nothing but a cry of distress," argued that the war against Germany could not be won

unless America was able "amply to provide herself and her Allies with food," and that this was impossible, because America was "facing a crop failure which can not be averted by President Wilson's little remedies."

In America the response to the President's call was one of deeds rather than words. From all sections came reports of organized movements to increase the crop-acreage, to enlist men and boys in "the army of the plow," and to

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MODEL VEGETABLE GARDENS IN UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY
These gardens were laid out and vegetables actually grown in them for purposes of giving instructions to dwellers in the city unfamiliar with gardening methods

supply the farmer with capital for intensive cultivation. In Philadelphia, a "recruiting station for farmers' helpers" welcomed all who wished to enroll in the President's "service-army," and sent them to big grain sections of the Northwest to assist in planting spring wheat and rye. The appeal stated that "25,000,000 acres of spring wheat and rye must be planted in the great grain belt of the Northwest within the next twenty-five days," and explained that "this

represents an increase of more than 7,000,000 acres over last year." A Chicago dispatch told of six thousand boys above the age of sixteen who had been released from the high-schools of that city with full credit for school-work for the remainder of the school-year, on condition that they pledged themselves to work on farms, or enter some employment that would increase the food-supply of the nation. President Bisby, of the Chicago surface street-railway lines,

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DOCTORS AND NURSES MAKING VEGETABLE GARDENS NEAR A BROOKLYN HOSPITAL

announced that schoolboys who were to work in truck-gardens on the outskirts of the city could ride to and from their work free. In North Dakota children were released from school to work on the farms, and in Wisconsin, Louisiana, and many other States proclamations were issued calling upon all citizens to plant every available square foot of ground.

Hundreds of thousands of backyards were converted into vegetable-gardens. Owners of big ornamental estates

in the neighborhood of New York dedicated their lawns and parks to raising potatoes, beans, and corn. Vacant land in New York, including some of the city's small parks, was placed under intensive cultivation by a city-gardening commission. In Union Square, New York City, a model vegetable garden was laid out and planted. The Federal Farm Loan Board perfected plans for lending $200,000,000 to farmers to stimulate food-production. In New York, a Patriotic Farmers' Fund prepared to finance the planting of at least one acre more on every one of the 250,000 farms in this State. Manufacturers in some sections agreed to release workers from their factories for work on the farms during the planting and harvesting seasons, these workers to receive from the manufacturers the difference between the farm and the factory wage. Under this arrangement the Lackawanna Railroad alone released between 800 and 900 section-hands for work in the southern agricultural section of New York. Because manufacture of alcoholic liquors consumed millions of bushels of grain annually, a new organization called the Grain Savers' League was formed, the only condition of membership being a pledge not to "drink, buy, sell, or give away any intoxicating liquor" while the war lasted.

As the autumn came on it was found that, while our wheat crop was below expectations, three other important crops had broken records, and three among the lesser crops had also. Corn, oats, potatoes, rye, sugar-beet, and beans carried off the honors. In 1917 we had grown 767,000,000 bushels of the four food cereals—wheat, rye, buckwheat, and rice—compared with 740,000,000 bushels in 1916, which assured us food in plenty. In food for both man and beast there had been great increase. Reports showed 5,092,000,000 bushels of corn, oats, and barley, where in 1916 the total was 4,067,000,000 bushels. These grains meant meat, milk, butter, and eggs, food for draft animals, and substitutes for wheat in domestic use. We had the largest crop of potatoes ever raised—540,000,000 bushels of both kinds, against 356,000,000 in 1916, so that a more extensive use of potatoes in the place of wheat and meat could help to feed fighting men. At the same time there were 11,300,000

bushels of flaxseed and perhaps 5,400,000 tons of cottonseed, crops which represented something more than oil, for the oilcake was a valuable stock-feed, and meat and dairy products were among the foods the military authorities were most interested in. We had also a good crop of fruit, a record crop of sugar-beets and beans, and a large total of vegetables. With care in their use, shortage in Europe could be made up here, while our own population would be well fed. If food could decide the war, Nature had given us the victory, for she had given us victory crops.

The House of Representatives on April 13, by a vote of 389 to 0, passed a $7,000,000,000 bill, the greater part of that sum to be used in aiding the Entente Allies. Owing to pairs by absentees, only 389 votes were recorded for the bill, but Democratic and Republican leaders announced that all the members would have voted affirmatively had they been present. The formality of a roll-call would have been dispensed with if several members present who had voted against the resolution declaring a state of war with Germany had not insisted upon having the opportunity of recording themselves in favor of providing money to carry on hostilities, now that the Nation was actually at war. The bill authorized issues of $5,000,000,000 in bonds and of treasury certificates for $2,000,000,000, the latter sum to be raised ultimately by new taxation. Passage of the measure was never in doubt during the two days in which it was under consideration in the House. When members suggested that some of the Entente Governments receiving the loan might not be able to repay it, others declared that they would be willing to donate the funds outright provided it would aid in terminating the war. "I don't care if they don't pay it back," sharply said a Congressman from Illinois; "America has entered this war to win and to maintain American rights. If we can maintain those rights by furnishing money to some one who will fight our battles for us while we are getting ready, it seems to me we ought to do it." In the Senate the bill was also passed unanimously.

On April 25, Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, handed to Lord Cunliffe, Governor of the Bank of England,

a Treasury warrant for $200,000,000. In return Lord Cunliffe gave a note on behalf of the British Government, thus completing the formalities attending the first loan made to any Entente Government under the new $7,000,000,000 war finance measure. The transfer was made in the presence of Federal Reserve Board Directors, Treasury, and British Embassy officials. Lord Cunliffe took the Treasury warrant to the British Embassy, where it was delivered to Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador. Sir Cecil indorsed the warrant over to the United States Treasury with a request that the amount be deposited in the Federal Reserve system to the credit of his Government. The fund was to be employed to meet payments for war supplies already delivered, or soon to be delivered by manufacturers in this country under contract to the British Government. There was now due on such contracts fully $100,000,000.

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WILLIAM G. McADOO

Both Houses of Congress passed an Army bill embodying among other things the Administration's plan for a selective draft. The vote in the Senate was 81 to 8; in the House 397 to 24. The final vote in the House preceded by a few minutes the final vote in the Senate and it followed a decisive defeat of the pro-volunteer forces in both houses.

Since the war began some 16,000 Americans had already enlisted for the cause of the Entente under the Maple Leaf of Canada and joined the colors of King George. They had acted from two motives—about 50 per cent. from a spirit of adventure and about 50 per cent. from a spirit of crusade. Canadians were fighting, to quote recruiting posters, because they believed that "Germany was the foe of liberty and civilization and a menace to the welfare of

humanity,'' or for those principles of liberty ''which every true American loves.'' The battle-line in Flanders was ''the bulwark of civilization,'' and if it were to give way there would be a dangerous probability of ''a line of German forts on what is now the peaceful border-line between the United States and Canada.'' Most of the 16,000 Americans had been assigned to Canadian units, but there was one special regiment composed of Americans solely called the American Legion, and there was also an entire American company in one battalion. An organization called the ''In-

CANADA'S AMERICAN LEGION

These men were part of about a thousand, born in the United States, who enlisted in the 97th Battalion in Canada. They are passing in review in Toronto before the Lieutenant-Governor

ternational'' was composed mainly of Americans from Detroit. It was founded by a Unitarian clergyman, now a lieutenant-colonel of one of its battalions. It consisted of five battalions, one of which was in Europe in 1916. The four others were recruiting at Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Halifax. The distinctive point about this legion was that all were Americans from the private to the commanding officer. Many college men were among these Legionnaires, including some West-Pointers, and there were frontiersmen from the beaches of Alaska and the hills of

Mexico. More than 60 per cent. had learned to carry arms in former wars. Some few had deserted from the United States army for the greater glamor of the World War. The following residence statistics of the first 875 men to enlist in the 97th Battalion were typical of the character of the whole Legion:

New York	187	Rhode Island	11	Kansas	5
Michigan	140	Oregon	11	Florida	4
Illinois	60	Nebraska	11	New Jersey	4
Massachusetts	58	North Dakota	10	New Hampshire	3
Pennsylvania	51	Connecticut	10	Oklahoma	2
Ohio	50	Virginia	9	Dist. of Columbia	2
Minnesota	29	Texas	9	Arizona	2
Washington	27	Vermont	8	Mississippi	2
Wisconsin	20	Colorado	8	North Carolina	2
Missouri	19	Tennessee	6	South Dakota	2
Indiana	19	Kentucky	6	Georgia	2
California	18	Maryland	6	Wyoming	2
Iowa	18	Idaho	5	Utah	2
Alabama	14	Maine	5	Arkansas	1
Montana	12	Louisiana	5	West Virginia	1

The United States did not begin to take an active part in the war, however, until the passage of the Army Draft Bill, the despatch of Regulars to France, and the promulgation of an order for the mobilization of the entire National Guard. The chief provisions of the Army Bill, as completed on May 17, after four weeks of discussion, were these: Forces to be raised by a selective-draft, imposed on all males between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years, both inclusive, subject to registration and certain exemptions from service; the Regular Army to be increased to its maximum war-strength; National Guard units to be drafted into the Federal service; an initial force by conscription of 500,000 men to be raised with the addition of 500,000 others if deemed necessary; the pay of all enlisted men to be increased; $15 addition monthly for those receiving less than $21, then comprising the bulk of the Army, and graduated downward to $6 additional monthly for those receiving $45 or more; the sale of liquor at or near Army training-camp to be prohibited and the morals of soldiers otherwise protected.

To put this law into force, President Wilson at once issued orders for the mobilization of the National Guard to enter the Federal service on various dates, beginning on July 15, and an executive proclamation designating the 5th of June as registration day for the selective draft. Congress, to the delight of Colonel Roosevelt and his friends, had agreed to let a so-called "Roosevelt clause"—by which an army of volunteers raised by him was to go to France—remain in the Draft Bill. It was, however, permissive, not mandatory, and the President declined to avail himself of the Colonel's

REGISTRATION DAY ARRESTS
Police are taking to jail men in Cincinnati who circulated an anti-registration petition

services at present. The first troops sent to France were to be taken from the existing forces of the Regular Army, and to be "under the command of trained soldiers only." The National Guard was to be expanded to 400,000 men. General Pershing was to be sent to France at once with an Army Division and a regiment of Marines. He had had a distinguished career in the army. He was in command of the expeditionary force that had been sent into Mexico, and, after General Funston's death, commanded all the troops on the Mexican frontier. His work in the Philippines in the

Moro campaign had been such as to earn for him rapid promotion. He had been jumped from the rank of captain to that of brigadier-general, and the promotion was regarded as justified by his subsequent achievements.

The most impressive thing about the draft registration on June 5 was its lack of theatricals. More than 10,000,000 men placed themselves at the Government's disposal with less excitement than usually accompanies a State election. There had been no exhortation, no artificial enthusiasm, no poster advertising, no mass hysteria, only the quiet pressure of a law of universal application, democratic in form and spirit. One could have wished for no greater triumph for the conscription principle than this sober and cheerful acceptance of it. Despite all forebodings, due to the presence here of so large an element of German blood and sympathies, the country entered the war more united in feeling than in any other of its wars, the war with Spain being a possible exception. Public opinion was practically unanimous in demanding the full execution of the conscription law. Some 10,000,000 more eligibles would be in sight when the first draft were exhausted. While the public had been a little fearful about the draft experiment, it proved a phenomenal success. In a dark hour of doubt, when the nation was questioning Russia's intentions to continue the war, when the potentialities of Germany's *U*-boat campaign were still undefined, and when against a great new British drive in Belgium men had to balance an unexpected new Austrian offensive on the Carso Plateau in Italy, 10,000,000 men of military age had registered in one day. Here was America's conclusive answer to all efforts to convince the German people that this was "Wilson's war," and that it was without popular support or approval in the Republic. It was also an answer to spies, conspirators, and demagogs who tried to obstruct the Draft Law. Meanwhile the German press had assured their readers that our Liberty Loan was a "colossal failure," that our Draft Law was meeting with riotous resistance, and that all our other war-preparations were facing failure.

The Regular Army, which at the close of the last fiscal year had numbered 107,641 men, soon contained 223,000;

by June 15th, 112,000 men had been added to it—approximately 1,550 men a day. At this rate of enlistments, forty-six days would bring it up to the full war strength of 293,000. Already seven States had filled their quota. Recruiting campaigns there had been, but they caused little more than a ripple of concern. The men came steadily in, as if reflecting a national feeling that, without flurry or slackening, the national need must be met.

As to the work of preparing training-camps for our new army, Lord Northcliffe wrote[8] strikingly after a visit to one of the camps. Early in July there lay three miles outside of San Antonio in Texas, a stretch of ground covered with scrub or bush. On July 6, in the summer of 1917, an army of between 9,000 and 10,000 workmen of every known nationality directed by young Americans of the Harvard and Yale type arrived there in every kind of conveyance, in mule-cart, farm-wagons, horse-cabs, motors and huge motor-vans. With this army came every kind of automatic machinery and in 45 days 12 miles of rail, 25 miles of road, 31 miles of water pipes, and 30 miles of sewer had been laid down. Nearly all the material had to be brought from great distances. As often as not the thermometer stood at 100 degrees. On August 25 a considerable part of the new city was ready for occupation. The comfortably built huts were provided with heating arrangements for the winter, baths, hot and cold, are attached to each building. There were in all between 1,200 and 1,300 buildings. What had been done in Texas was done simultaneously in fifteen other parts of the country.

It was believed that within four months the United States would be able to turn out engines for 2,000 fighting air-planes a month and every month thereafter it would be possible to increase the production by approximately 1,000 machines until the maximum was reached. It was the intention to build heavy battle-planes for immediate service at the front. With the kind of motor designed for them, they would be able to make from 110 to 120 miles an hour. Factories were to take over the manufacture of engines and parts for the training-planes and the heavy battle-planes,

[8] In The *Times* (London).

leaving to plants in England and France the construction of high-powered and speedy light fighters, for which those countries already had highly specialized facilities. By June 12 the Government had completed tentative plans to send at least 1,000 aviators a month to France. The first force would be ready to embark some time in September and were to be men who would have received preliminary training in technical schools and on aviation fields before they left. On arriving in France they were to have a short period of intensive training under French instructors, and then go to the battle-front. Some of the great factories which in the past had been used for the manufacture of automobiles were to be turned into airplane plants. Experts from England, France, and the United States were already at work with a view to co-ordination of effort. Aviation fields at Dayton, Detroit, and Champaign, where aviators were to receive their first taste of practical training, were more than half completed in two months and thousands of men were rushing the work. Six or seven other training-fields had been authorized. More than enough young men physically fit for air-service had come forward and started in preliminary training. Thousands had filed applications and were awaiting the Government's decision. Nearly 5,000 young men entered the training-camps for reserve officers. Nine universities offered schools for preliminary training pending the completion of the training-fields.

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LORD NORTHCLIFFE

The engines used in American, French English, and Canadian manufacture were standardized, so that it would be possible to ship engines manufactured in this country to England and France for use there. It was believed that

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THE FIRST AMERICAN SOLDIERS TO REACH PARIS

The troops are being reviewed by President Poincaré and General Pershing

from 10,000 to 20,000 American aviators could be placed on the fighting front in France within twelve months. "If this country takes hold of air-preparedness, concentrating on it the energy and unhampered work that Admiral von Tirpitz did in developing the German submarine, we will soon beat the submarine, and I am convinced will bring about a speedy and unequivocal decision in this war," said Rear-Admiral Robert E. Peary to a Senate sub-committee on aeronautics having before it a bill to create a Department for Aeronautics, headed by a member of the Cabinet.

Admiral Peary urged the speedy development of the air-service for use as a coast patrol and for fighting submarines. He said that within six months the country would be able to maintain an invulnerable airplane patrol that would give protection 500 miles out to sea. He expected the airplane to be the decisive factor in this war. By October 4, contracts had been let by the War Department for the construction of 20,000 of them. This was practically the whole number of airplanes for which provision had been made in a $640,000,000 bill. One-fourth, or about 5,000, of these would be built abroad, the other 15,000 in this country. Aviators were being trained in 24 flying-schools and in a number of ground-schools, their final training to take place on foreign soil. The plan of the army contemplated the delivery of motors, planes, equipment and men so that all might be available as rapidly as one part was ready for the other. A great number of aviators had already been sent abroad and were now undergoing intensive training behind battle-fronts. More than 30 Allied air-experts were in this country, composing what might be called an international aviation general staff, in connection with the development of America's great military aerial force. American military airplanes were to be of American manufacture from the tip of the propellers to the engine, machine-gun and camera.

The total for the first day of applications for a Liberty Loan, this loan being for $2,000,000,000, the first instalment of $5,000,000,000 authorized by Congress, was $138,674,000, on May 4, which indicated that the first issue was likely to

be over-subscribed. When subscriptions were closed on June 15, it was found that four million persons had subscribed for a sum in excess of $3,000,000,000. The New York district took more than $1,000,000,000, the number of subscribers being about 1,000,000. One hundred and nine New York banks turned in subscriptions aggregating nearly $300,000,000, which included many subscriptions from up-State localities. The loan's success, measured by a 50 per cent. over-subscription, was greater than anticipated. The popular support was regarded as a demonstration that the nation was united in this war against Germany. England's first war loan, offered at a time when England was just awakening to war in November, 1914, was taken by only 100,000 persons. The number of subscribers to Germany's first war loan was 1,117,444. But before an American army had reached the trenches, about 4,000,000 Americans had shown themselves alive to the war's meaning. The rush of subscriptions, mostly for bonds of small denominations, continued until the moment of closing of books, and many applications were received after noon. Long lines of eager investors besieged the subscription booths in all parts of the country and every facility of the banks, and other distributing agencies, was taxed to the utmost. It was incomparably the largest loan ever negotiated by the United States.

It was more than one-half the aggregate bond-sales of the entire Civil War period. We had had so-called popular loans before, but never one of such magnitude, or one that appealed so powerfully to every element and section. This loan was shown to be popular in fact as well as name. It had been placed on the counter at a fixt price and it could be taken by rich and poor on precisely the same terms. Bankers, brokers, insurance companies, merchants, manufacturers, transportation companies, employers of every kind and great capitalists did more than buy bonds on their own account; they spent time and money in making purchases possible to hundreds of thousands of men, women and children of small means. The transaction became as notable for freedom from greed and for a spirit of helpfulness as it was for splendid proportions. Of the subscribers, 3,960,000

asked for allotments of from $50 to $10,000. Twenty-one banks, corporations and individuals subscribed for more than $5,000,000 each. Thus 50 per cent. of the loan represented popular subscriptions. The returns by Federal Reserve districts as compared with the minimum allotments were as follows:

District	*Minimum Allotment*	*Actual Subscription*
New York	$600,000,000	$1,186,788,400
Boston	240,000,000	332,447,600
Philadelphia	140,000,000	232,309,250
Cleveland	180,000,000	286,148,700
Richmond	80,000,000	109,737,100
Atlanta	60,000,000	57,878,550
Chicago	260,000,000	357,195,950
St. Louis	80,000,000	86,134,700
Minneapolis	80,000,000	70,255,500
Kansas City	100,000,000	91,758,850
Dallas	40,000,000	48,948,350
San Francisco	140,000,000	175,623,000
Total	$2,000,000,000	$3,035,226,850

These figures showed among other things that the four districts having the largest subscriptions (New York, Boston, Chicago, and Cleveland), actually subscribed $2,162,000,000. New York made the best showing, nearly doubling her minimum allotment of $600,000,000. Boston's percentage of excess over the minimum allotment was 38, Philadelphia's 65, Chicago's 37, Cleveland's 58, and San Francisco's 25. The final total of subscriptions and the impressive number of subscribers to the loan surprized even its most optimistic supporters. Two subscriptions of $25,000,000 each were received. The largest subscription of all was for $25,250,000.

In two distinct respects, the subscription was remarkable. The only large European war-loan that had been issued for a fixt amount—that of Great Britain in the autumn of 1914—was barely subscribed, altho the sum applied for was $25,000,000 less than that of our first loan. This fact involved no disparagement to Great Britain, because financial conditions prevailing at that time differed altogether from those existing in America in June, 1917. But the fact

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THE WAR COUNCIL OF THE UNITED STATES

From left to right Charles Day of the Shipping Board, General Crozier, General Weaver, General Bliss (Chief of Staff), Secretary Baker, Assistant Secretary of War Crowell, General Crowder, Colonel Pierce, Col. U. S. Grant

was that our loan was the first actual over-subscription for a first loan during the war. To this could be added the even more striking facts that the amount of over-subscription was the largest in the whole history of finance, and that, even in ratio to the sum total of the loan, it had never but twice been exceeded—once in our own $200,000,000 Spanish war-loan of 1898, and once in our $100,000,000 popular loan of January, 1896. Not only were the amounts involved on those occasions trifling when compared with the $3,035,000,000 subscription for the present loan, but in those days the basing of national bank-note circulation exclusively on United States Government bonds had created a wide and wholly artificial demand for them.

Even more remarkable, however, and not less remarkable because so unexpected, was the popular character of the subscriptions. Not even the most experienced financier would have doubted in advance that by far the larger part of the total sum subscribed for would come from very large capitalists. That had invariably been the experience of Europe. But the tabulation for our own loan showed that subscribers for less than $100,000 asked for $1,856,000,000 of the bonds, or 61 per cent. of the total amount applied for, and that subscriptions in sums less than $10,000 footed up $1,153,000,000, or 36 per cent. The number of separate subscribers was more than 4,000,000 compared with only 330,000 for our Spanish war loan.

Our advances to the Allies had reached late in June the billion-dollar mark. Advances made on June 26 to meet claims for war-supplies in this country completed the payment of the stipulated $400,000,000 a month agreed on in conferences between the Balfour and Viviani Commissions and this Government. The credits thus far advanced to the Allied Governments had reached the sum of $1,008,000,000, of which Great Britain had received $550,000,000 and France $210,000,000. Of this amount, $868,205,000 had come out of funds raised by the sale of United States Treasury certificates through the Federal Reserve Banks. The remainder came from the general fund, which, with the collections at the close of the fiscal year, had risen to $330,008, 587.

By the end of June non-partizan patriotism had brought to Washington probably the greatest number of leaders in industry, business, and finance ever concentrated anywhere on a single task. These men, who represented the best brains of the country in all the varied processes that keep industry humming, were grappling with the industrial problems of the war. When the nation entered the war it had a few highly trained corps of experts on the industrial side of war. But there came within a few weeks to Washington a great volunteer army, serving without pay, a roster of which would contain the best-known names in the arts of peace, all now turning their genius for methods in organization to overcoming the arts of the Prussian military machine. Among them were men of two types—those of vision and genius who were to point the way and those who were to reach the goal. In the forefront of the former, Howard Coffin, a noted automoble engineer, organized and became chairman of a Committee on Industrial Preparedness and conceived the idea of taking stock of the industrial resources of America. This inventory was put through with the aid of committees of five from every branch of the engineering societies of the country. War and Navy departments were told just what the Nation could produce in munitions and supplies.

Bernard N. Baruch, the one time "Barney" Baruch of Wall Street, big, ruddy, but high-strung, "lived with the job" as chairman of the Metals and Minerals Committee, which saved millions to the Government on contracts for raw materials. He had cooperating with him Elbert H. Gary, James A. Farrell and Charles M. Schwab. Mr. Baruch had a prototype in Julius Rosenwald, known as "the best buyer" in the United States, a typical American business man, short, stocky, dark and somewhat bald, but alert and full of energy, at his desk early and late, spending his entire time in Washington. Henry P. Davison, partner of J. P. Morgan & Co., was at work extending the activities and organization of the American Red Cross. Heads of six of the country's railway transportation systems were perfecting plans for the operation of the railroads of the country as one system for Government use—Daniel Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio,

Samuel Rea of the Pennsylvania, Howard Elliott of the New Haven, Fairfax Harrison of the Southern, Hale Holden of the Burlington and Julius Kruttschnitt of the Southern Pacific. Upward of a thousand experts were in Washington most, if not all of the time, working without pay.

Among civilians in general an extraordinary amount of war work was almost immediately undertaken until eventually the entire population from coast to coast, men, women and children, became engaged in it, small villages, large towns and great cities making it a supreme daily interest and source of endeavor. This work fell chiefly to five highly organized and efficient bodies, the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Knights of Columbus, and the Salvation Army. Henry P. Davison, who was chairman of the War Council of the Red Cross, issued early in September, 1917, a report concerning the activities of the society in Europe for the time since war was declared. It showed that since May 10 it had appropriated for work in countries of the Allies $12,339,681, this figure including all appropriations up to August 31. One of its most important undertakings in France was to combat the tuberculosis peril, 500,000 persons being afflicted with tuberculosis as a direct result of the war. For the relief of wounded and sick French soldiers and their families, $1,000,000 had been appropriated, and plans had been made to take care temporarily of destitute refugees, who numbered about 400,000. Appropriations made for use in Europe, outside of France, covering drugs and medical supplies, relief funds, and expenses, were: For Russia, $322,780.87; Roumania, $247,000.00; Italy, $210,000.00; Serbia, $22,500.00; England, $8,800.00;

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HENRY P. DAVISON

Armenia, $600,000.00; other appropriations, $36,000.00. It was stated in the report that nearly a million Armenians had been massacred, or driven to privation such as resulted in death or were deported "into the desert regions where self-support was impossible"; that 500,000 Greeks had been deported; that in one town there had been a call "to provide for 10,000 fatherless children," and that 2,000,000 people in Western Asia had been saved from death only by the

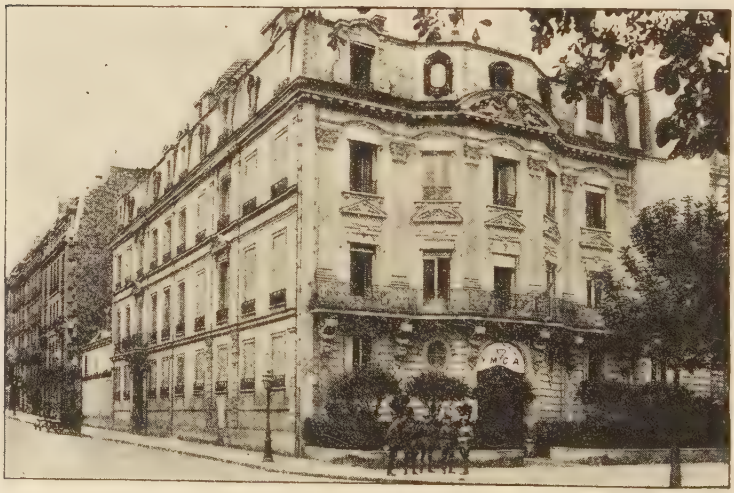
THE RED CROSS HEADQUARTERS IN PARIS

Here, in the last year of the war, and for some time afterward, the American Red Cross in Europe had its principal headquarters. The building is known as the Hotel Regina, and stands on the Rue de Rivoli, at the Place des Pyramides. The statue represents Joan of Arc

constant aid of the Red Cross. Here were tragedies even greater than Belgium's. Serbia, with four-fifths of her army gone, and her civilian population "harried over the face of Europe," was another appalling picture. Everywhere the Red Cross was following hard on the track of ruin.

The activities of the Red Cross in 1918 had extended into

nearly all parts of the war zones of Europe and Asia and into new fields of effort at home. In France appropriations of $47,783,985 had been made to support a canteen service, provide equipment for hospitals, diet kitchens, hospital huts and convalescent homes; to rehabilitate the maimed and disabled; for food and shelter for refugees; for rebuilding devastated villages; for child-welfare work. In Italy work was begun at the time of the great crisis in the military situation of that country, after the battle of Caporetto. Appropriations of $16,964,048.40 covered the work of a little



HEADQUARTERS OF THE Y. M. C. A. IN PARIS

more than a calendar year. In England appropriations of $10,820,250.62 were made. From September, 1917, to June 30, 1918, the expenditures in Belgium had been almost one and a half million dollars. By the end of the year 1918 they totaled $3,379,699. After the armistice was signed, Red Cross work was continued in Europe and at home. The pressing needs of the Balkan people were looked after by a special commission sent out from Paris by way of Rome to Saloniki and Athens.

Home service for the welfare of the families of soldiers and sailors was maintained. It extended sympathetic help

to more than 300,000 families at a cost of $6,000,000, and at an expense slightly greater than this sum it maintained 700 canteens along railway lines and distributed large quantities of comfort supplies, including more than 2,000,000 sweaters and 2,000,000 pairs of socks to men in camps and cantonments. The volunteer productions of women and children in chapter workrooms amounted to more than 290,000,000 articles for hospital, camp, and refugee-station use, including more than 250,000,000 surgical dressings. During

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS AT THEIR CLUB-HOUSE IN PARIS

1918 the Red Cross enrolled for service more than 30,000 nurses and organized fifty base-hospital units. In France were 400 nurses serving civilian populations. The organization grew to a membership of 22,000,000 adults and 8,000,000 school children. One fund collected for it by popular subscription amounted to over $100,000,000; another reached more than $175,000,000. Besides these general funds, there were raised in towns and cities special funds with which to purchase supplies for local workers who were knitting socks and sweaters and making bandages.

When we entered the war, Y. M. C. A. leaders called for $3,000,000 with which to aid enlisted men during the summer of 1917; they received instead $5,000,000. Regular work developed so rapidly among camps and cantonments and with the increase in men called to the colors, that an appeal was issued in November, 1917, for $35,000,000 with which to provide for service until July 1; the response was far over $50,000,000. By August, 1918, a much larger work had got under way overseas in maintaining "a morale-building influence," not only among the more than a million of our men then over there, but to meet requests from the French and Italian Governments and to provide for vast numbers of prisoners of war. On November 1 the Y. M. C. A. had over 6,000 war-work secretaries overseas, in addition to 3,000 in camps in America. In November, 1918, a United War Work Campaign was instituted to raise $170,500,000, of which $100,000,000 was for the Y. M. C. A., the remainder being for the Y. W. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board and three other causes. The result of the campaign was a fund of over $200,000,000.

The Y. W. C. A. was concerned mainly with the welfare and morale of girls and women as affected by the war. It built 67 hostess houses in army and navy camps for white and colored and had 38 other houses under construction at the end of the war. It provided 10 emergency housing centers and opened 145 clubs and recreation centers; furnished 800 women war workers and organized 714 patriotic leagues with 420,000 members; started 25 international institutes for foreign-born women and created several industrial war centers. In France it operated 12 hostels for American women in war work, conducted 16 social centers for nurses in American base hospitals, furnished 15 foyers for French munitions workers, and directed five outdoor recreation centers for French women.

In camps at home and in trenches abroad the Knights of Columbus had about 450 secretaries and 44 huts, distributed at all points where there were American troops and at all debarkation ports. Club headquarters were maintained in London and Paris. Besides numerous well-equipped buildings in France, huts were opened at strategic points in Eng-

land for Americans in training there, and war work was extended to Italy. In every camp in this country there were at least one, in some two to four, buildings used by the Knights, and 550 secretaries were in service. The organization maintained abroad a corps of 30 chaplains, who went with the men everywhere.

Officers of the Salvation Army were with American troops in all important engagements. Their ministrations were approved by both civil and military authorities. Representatives of the organization lived and worked in dugouts, wine-cellars and partly demolished buildings, making, as they could, a home for the soldiers. Among the officers were both men and women. The officers sent to France numbered 150; the officers and employees in camps in the United States numbered 65; at headquarters were 40 others; huts in France numbered 50; huts in this country, 17; ambulances in service, 34; rest- and reading-rooms, 40; hostels for soldiers and sailors in France, England and the United States, 14.[8a]

On June 25 there went into effect an export contract in which complete subservience by American exporters to the Federal Government was exacted. As far as possible the iron hand of Government experts was going to be concealed under a velvet glove of cooperation. It was the purpose of the Administration to make the blockade of Germany as complete as possible. Opportunity would first be given all exporters to work with the Government in the administration of the act. The board comprised Secretary of State Lansing, Secretary of Commerce Redfield, Secretary of Agriculture Houston, and Herbert C. Hoover, the Food Administrator. In effect, the system was to be to pool all supplies needed in the business of making war, including food, munitions, and fuel materials. After this round-up it would be decided how much of the total supplies would be needed by the United States. The surplus for export would then be distributed so that the needs of the Allies would first be cared for and then those of other neutrals. None was to find its way into Germany. For that reason the exports council was prepared to adjust its machinery to an elaborate system already in

[8a] *The American Year Book*, 1918 (D. Appleton & Co.).

operation with the Allies to check shipments to neutrals. Positive guaranties were demanded that goods shipped to neutral nations were not to be re-exported in any way into Germany. The strictest possible surveillance was maintained over all consignments from the moment they left American ports.

The food economies which Herbert C. Hoover suggested were officially promulgated on July 7, in clear type on a small card in terms definite and concise. It was expected that this card would soon hang in American kitchens and its directions be followed with scrupulous care. About a million food-pledges had already been signed. The rules were in the main simple, consume less wheat, meat, milk, fats, sugar, and fuel; eat more fruit, vegetables, and foods not suitable to camps or firing-lines; set no limits to the food of growing children; eat no more food than is necessary; buy food that was grown close to home. The card had as a heading, the words: "Win the War by Giving Your Own Daily service," and contained the following admonitions:

"Save the Wheat.—One wheatless meal a day. Use corn, oatmeal, rye, or barley bread and non-wheat breakfast foods. Order bread twenty-four hours in advance so your baker will not bake beyond his needs. Cut the loaf on the table and only as required. Use stale bread for cooking, toast, etc. Eat less cake and pastry.

"Save the Meat.—Beef, mutton, or pork not more than once daily. Use freely vegetables and fish. At the meat meal serve smaller portions and stew instead of steaks. Make made-dishes of all left-overs. Do this and there will be meat enough for every one at a reasonable price.

"Save the Milk.—The children must have milk. Use every drop. Use buttermilk and sour milk for cooking and making cottage cheese. Use less cream.

"Save the Fats.—We are the world's greatest fat wasters. Fat is food. Butter is essential for the growth and health of children. Use butter on the table as usual, but not in cooking. Other fats are as good. Reduce use of fried foods. Soap contains fats. Do not waste it. Make your own washing soap at home out of the saved fats.

"Save the Sugar.—Sugar is scarcer. We use to-day three times as much per person as our allies. So there may be enough for all at

reasonable price; use less candy and sweet drinks. Do not stint sugar in putting up fruit and jams. They will save butter.

"Save the Fuel.—Coal comes from a distance and our railways are overburdened hauling war material. Help relieve them by burning fewer fires. Use wood when you can get it.

"Use the Perishable Foods.—Fruits and vegetables we have in abundance. As a nation we eat too little green stuffs. Double their use and improve your health. Store potatoes and other roots properly and they will keep. Begin now to can or dry all surplus garden products.

"Use Local Supplies.—Patronize your local producer. Distance means money. Buy perishable food from the neighborhood nearest you and thus save transportation.

"General Rules.—Buy less, serve smaller portions. Preach the 'Gospel of the Clean Plate.' Don't eat a fourth meal. Don't limit the plain food of growing children. Watch out for the wastes in the community. Full garbage pails in America mean empty dinner-pails in America and Europe. If the more fortunate of our people will avoid waste and eat no more than they need, the high cost of living problem of the less fortunate will be solved."

A final step to make complete the embargo which would prevent Germany or the northern neutrals of Europe from obtaining products of the United States, Canada, Mexico, or any of the South American nations that might aid the enemy, was taken on October 4 by the Exports Administrative Board which placed a ban on bunker coal. In an official statement it was asserted that the United States had failed to obtain the definite information it had asked of northern neutrals concerning their actual needs for home consumption, and the status of the traffic in which they had engaged with the Central Powers. It was stated further that the Administration had adopted as definite the policy that it would in no way contribute to trade that would "accrue to the benefit of the enemy." This policy was in line with the steps which had been taken by the Government to obtain an embargo combination against Germany and the northern neutral nations that were feeding and arming her, and was one in which all the countries allied against Germany would be involved, and would work in concert. It would end the practise which had been engaged in exten-

sively by some neutral shipping interests, of obtaining here the coal necessary to transport to Europe cargoes of foodstuffs, fodder, and other commodities which were refused to them by the United States. The step had been taken with the approval of all the Allies. It followed closely Great Britain's declaration of a complete embargo against the Northern European neutrals, and was designed to strengthen the embargo already put into force by the United States.

Latin-American countries were the only other nations left

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BOOKS FOR OUR SOLDIERS IN FRANCE

A familiar scene at the New York Public Library in 1917 and 1918. More than 700,000 books were here collected

in the world from which Germany had a chance of obtaining foodstuffs and other necessaries through border countries. With this source cut off, allied statesmen felt that the ring around Germany was drawn so tightly by economic pressure, reinforcing the Allies' ever-growing military superiority, as to make the German people see that their cause was hopeless. Eighty-four Dutch ships were now lying idle at our ports. It must have been realized by the Dutch Government, which controlled by charter a majority of these

idle ships, that what they had on board could not be carried to Holland. It was estimated that their expenses while lying in our ports had already exceeded $10,000,000.

So much work attended the tabulation of subscriptions to the Second Liberty Loan floated in October that the final results were not known until ten days after the subscription's close. It then appeared that men, women and children to the number of 9,306,000 had "done their bit" by subscribing to $4,617,532,300 worth of bonds. The loan was for $3,000,000,000 but the Secretary of the Treasury had reserved the right to allot additional bonds up to one-half the amount of any over-subscription. As this amounted to $1,617,532,300, the total issue of the Second Liberty Loan would be $3,808,766,150. Of the subscribers, 99 per cent. contributed their share in amounts ranging from $50 to $50,000, the aggregate of such subscriptions being $2,488,469,350. The First Liberty Loan, which called for the issuance of $2,000,000,000 in bonds, had been over-subscribed $1,035,226,850, and there were approximately 4,000,000 subscriptions. The over-subscription of the Second Loan was approximately 54 per cent. for the whole country; in the New York district, with subscriptions of $1,550,453,450, it was 72 per cent. The actual subscriptions in each of the twelve Federal Reserve banking districts, with the quota of each on a basis of $3,000,000,000, were as below:

District	*Subscribed*	*Quota*
New York	$1,550,453,450	$900,000,000
Chicago	585,353,350	420,000,000
Cleveland	486,106,800	300,000,000
Boston	476,850,050	300,000,000
Philadelphia	380,350,250	250,000,000
San Francisco	292,671,150	210,000,000
Richmond	201,212,500	120,000,000
Kansas Cilty	150,125,750	120,000,000
St. Louis	184,280,750	120,080,000
Minneapolis	140,932,650	105,000,000
Atlanta	90,695,750	80,000,000
Dallas	77,899,850	75,000,000
Totals	$4,617,532,300	$3,000,000,000

The most gratifying thing about the loan was the actual number of subscribers or those in whose names subscriptions appeared and to whom the securities would be allotted. Approximately 9,400,000 persons was the figure given and was not much below one-tenth of the entire population of the country, men, women and children; and 99 per cent. of these subscribed in amounts ranging from $50 to $50,000, making an aggregate of $2,488,469,350. This the Secretary of the Treasury interpreted as "significant of the widespread interest of the people in the purposes of the war, and of their determined support of the Government in all measures required for its vigorous prosecution."[9]

[9] Principal Sources: The *Sun*, The *Times*, The *Tribune*, New York; Associated Press dispatches, The *Wall Street Journal* (New York), The *Times* (London).

ENLIST HERE TO WORK ON A FARM
SALVATION ARMY
RECRUITING STATION
SOLDIERS OF THE SOIL
SERVE YOUR COUNTRY BY WORKING ON A FARM

A SALVATION ARMY RECRUITING STATION

Here the purpose was to induce dwellers in New York to migrate into the country and become cultivators of the soil

VI

THE ARRIVAL OF ADMIRAL SIMS AND GENERAL PERSHING IN LONDON AND PARIS

May 7, 1917—July 7, 1917

COINCIDENT with the coming of the Entente Commissioners, or following soon after their arrival home, important work had been done in Washington in preparing the United States for actual fighting. On May 4, the day on which Mr. Balfour addrest the House of Representatives, with President Wilson seated in the gallery, Admiral Sims, with a flotilla of American destroyers arrived in British waters, and began at once to participate in war on German submarines. Five weeks later, on June 8, General Pershing, who had been placed in command of the American forces sent to Europe, arrived in England, and on June 13 reached Paris.

On April 19th, the first hostilities between Americans and Germans, in a real sense, had occurred at sea. On that day, being the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, Captain Rice, of the American liner *Mongolia*, caused to be fired for the United States the first gun in the World War that could be called official. The shot hit a German submarine, which was about to attack Captain Rice's ship in British waters. That one shot well-aimed from a gun which the crew of the *Mongolia* had named "Teddy Roosevelt," decided the submarine's fate. Aided by Captain Rice, who so maneuvered his ship as to secure a good shot, the naval gunners caught the submarine as she rose at a range of 1,000 yards and dropt a shell squarely on her before she had a chance to launch a torpedo. A column of water, mixed with fragments of a periscope, flew into the air; there was an upheaval of black smoke and yellow gas-flames, and when these had settled nothing but a large oily patch was left on the water.

An officer of an American merchantman who arrived in the United States on May 15 gave details of the attack. The *Mongolia* was proceeding to a British port when the submarine's periscope was sighted at 5.30 o'clock in the morning off South Foreland in the English Channel, the weather calm and clear and the sea smooth. The look-out reported a submarine partially submerged off the port beam, but before the port gun could be brought into action the U-boat swung around the stern of the *Mongolia* to the starboard quarter. Then one of the gunners, Goodwin, fired a shot and registered a hit. Many passengers thought the submarine had been sunk, but it was afterward learned through the British secret service that a *U*-boat had crawled to Kiel, with its periscope and part of its conning tower shot away and with the dead body of its captain aboard, the chief officer reporting that the captain had been killed by a shot fired from the merchantman *Mongolia*. Several days after this incident a lieutenant and some gunners on the American tanker *Vacuum*, which was sunk by a submarine, lost their lives. These were the first men in the American Navy to be killed in the war.

The weekly statement of ships sunk, made public on April 15, showed that 40 vessels of over 1,600 tons each had been sent to the bottom by mines or submarines. This was the greatest number of vessels reported sunk since the British Government began to issue weekly statements of losses. The report also showed that more vessels than formerly had been

THE SHIP THAT FIRED OUR FIRST SHOT IN THE WAR

The *Mongolia*, a freighter, from which off the English coast on April 19th, the 142d anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, a shot was fired that sank a German submarine

successful in evading attack, the figures being 27, as against 19, the previous high figure. It was in these weeks of April that unrestricted submarine warfare reached its most portentous aspects. Great, therefore, was the relief in Great Britain when, quite unexpectedly, the flotilla of America's torpedo-boat destroyers, commanded by Admiral Sims, arrived in British waters. A crowd of several hundred persons, some of them carrying American flags, had lined the waterfront in Queenstown awaiting their arrival, and cheered the destroyers from the moment when they sighted them

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AT "BEYOND SEAS" HEADQUARTERS IN LONDON

The Beyond Seas Association arranged receptions for officers coming from abroad. In the picture, left to right, are seen the Duke of Connaught, Lord Blythe, Admiral Sims and Sir Ernest Hatch

until they reached the dock. After an exchange of shore greetings the British commander asked: "When will you be ready for business?" "We can start at once," the American commander replied. This response surprized the British, who had not expected the American would be ready to begin work so soon. "Yes," replied the American commander, "we made preparations on the way over. That is why we are ready." One of the destroyers had begun war duty, even before reaching the European side of the Atlantic, by picking up and escorting through the danger zone one of the largest of the Atlantic liners. As members of the crews wandered through Queenstown streets, they saw the Stars and Stripes flying from many buildings and were told that they had been hoisted weeks before to celebrate the entry of the United States into the war and had been left there ever since.

Not until late in May was it known that our flotilla had been cooperating with British naval forces since May 4 and that the boats had been dispatched from the United States in the latter part of April, following a conference with British and French naval officers who came over with Mr. Balfour, M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre. It was felt that American destroyer forces operating against *U*-boats might prove an all important, if not a deciding factor in the campaign to break the back of the submarine blockade. Aside from the moral and political effect which the presence of the American flag in European waters would inspire, there was to be considered the fighting efficiency of the 48 destroyers which the United States Navy had in readiness for action in the Atlantic. Germany had probably not believed the Americans a factor to be reckoned with as a direct or potential means of offensive warfare against her *U*-boats. Thirty-three of these craft were of more than 1,000 tons displacement. The newest, the *Davis*, *Allen*, and *Wilkes*, had a speed of thirty knots. Others were named the *Winslow*, *Wainwright*, *Wadsworth*, *Tucker*, *Sampson*, *Rowan*, *Porter*, *Ericsson*, *Duncan*, *Downes*, *Cushing*, *Cummings*, *Conyngham*, *Cassin*, *Bachey*, *Aylwin*, *Parker*, *O'Brien*, *Nicholson and McDougal*. Twenty of them were vessels of 740 tons displacement. Five were of 700 tons displacement, the

Flusser, Preston, Reid, Smith and *Lamson.* Four days before the flotilla arrived, Berlin, in some mysterious way, had learned that destroyers were on their way and to what port they were going. In fact the day before they steamed into Queenstown, German submarines had appeared about the harbor entrance. Rear Admiral Sims, who commanded the flotilla, was made Vice-Admiral by the President on May 24. This was regarded as signifying, not only recognition of past services, but a likelihood that American naval operations in the war zone would take on a far-reaching character and that with the rank of Vice-Admiral Sims would have a place among ranking British officers. Admiral Sims, before a state of war was declared, had been summoned to point out to the House Naval Committee some of the limitations of the submarine, concerning which he was an acknowledged authority.

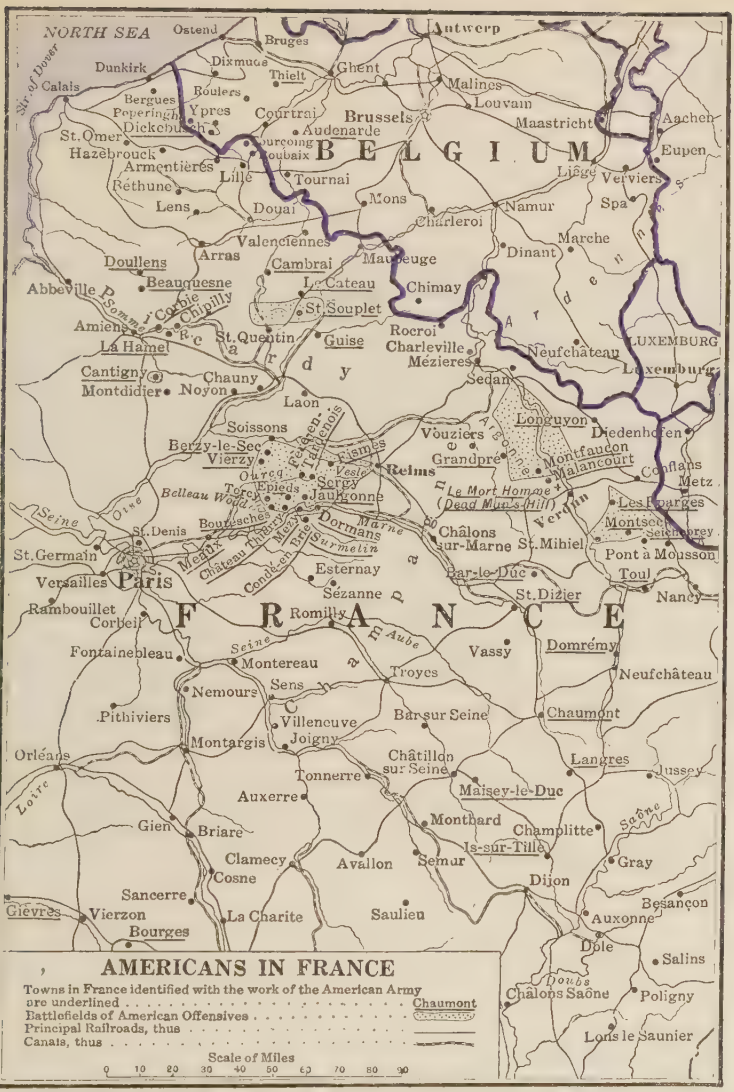
On May 18 the first contingent of United States Army Medical units arrived in England. Its members were described as "crazy to get into action," anxious to reach the French battle-front. This contingent was the first arm of a United States land-force that had ever sailed from these shores for the purpose of serving in a European conflict. Decatur had sailed to attack Barbary pirates in 1804, but his operations were naval and their scene was Africa. So secret had the departure of the unit been kept that few knew what ship the men had sailed on, or the date of their sailing. The unit had been recruited at Lakeside Hospital, Cleveland, Ohio, and had won the honor of being the first to sail and so to carry the American flag to France by the skill it had shown at a practise mobilization in Philadelphia in 1916. Just before the unit departed, it was found that the men had no band, and yet they were expected to parade in England. A hasty canvass of the personnel showed that about a dozen of the men could play musical instruments, and so a messenger was sent ashore to purchase fifes and drums.

With the departure in the third week of May of three units of the American Red Cross for service abroad and preparations for the early sailing of three more, the seriousness of the casualties that had been suffered by the

Medical Corps of the Allied armies was deeply imprest upon the public. These Americans were not to be sent to the front, but were going to war-hospitals to relieve staffs that would be moved up behind the lines and replace the severe losses suffered by the British and French Medical Corps. The British now had only one member of its Medical Corps available for each 1,000 men, instead of the needed ten per 1,000. The scarcity of physicians was so great that it was feared the health of the inhabitants of cities in Great Britain had been jeopardized. The Medical Corps had lost a greater percentage of its enrolment than any other branch of the British service—more than the infantry, which always bears the brunt in a battle. In the Battle of the Somme alone 600 doctors were reported killed. The gravity of the situation was increased by the fact that such losses are far more difficult to replace than losses in any other arm. A line officer can be made in three months of intensive training, but it requires years to educate a competent physician or surgeon, and additional time before the latter can perform good work on a battlefield.

Meanwhile, 600 members of three other units in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and Philadelphia were looking forward to sailing. Some were quartered in forts, others in hotels. Sixty-five at this time were in the Waldorf-Astoria in New York. Eventually it was said that the United States would have to make good a large part of the losses borne by the medical corps of the Allies. Besides three Red Cross units in New York, 420 men, or seven units, were soon to leave "some American port"—two from California, and one each from Harvard, Yale, and Williams College, one from St. Louis, and one from Illinois. On May 31 an American Engineering Commission, which had conferred at length with officials at the War Office, announced that it was ready to leave.

Not until May 18 was it definitely known that regular American troops would be the first to go to France and that some thousands of volunteers who within a few weeks had been raised as Roosevelt's volunteers, were not to go. A division of regulars led by Major-General Pershing were to leave "at as early a date as practicable." General Pershing and


NORTH SEA
Ostend
Bruges
Antwerp
Dunkirk
Dixmude
Ghent
Thielt
Malines
Louvain
Calais
Boulers
Bergues
Poperinghe
Ypres
Courtrai
Brussels
Maastricht
Aachen
Dickebusch
Audenarde
St. Omer
Hazebrouck
Armentières
Wurcoing
Roubaix
BELGIUM
Eupen
Lille
Tournai
Liége
Verviers
Béthune
Mons
Spa
Lens
Douai
Namur
Charleroi
Valenciennes
Marche
Arras
Cambrai
Maubeuge
Dinant
Doullens
Beaucaire
Le Cateau
Chimay
Abbeville
Somme
Corbie
Chipilly
St. Souplet
Amiens
Roye
St. Quentin
Guise
Rocroi
Charleville
Neufchâteau
LUXEMBURG
La Hamel
Ardy
Mézières
Luxemburg
Cantigny
Montdidier
Chauny
Noyon
Sedan
Laon
Longuyon
Soissons
Vouziers
Diedenhofen
Berzy-le-Sec
Vierzy
Aisne
Grandpré
Montfaucon
Malancourt
Conflans
Ourcq
Vesle
Reims
Sergy
Metz
Terre
Epieds
Jaulgonne
Le Mort Homme
(Dead Man's Hill)
Les Eparges
Belleau Wood
Seine
Oise
Bourresches
Dormans
Marne
Châlons
sur-Marne
St. Mihiel
Montsec
Seicheprey
St. Denis
Meaux
Surmelin
Pont à Mousson
St. Germain
Château Thierry
Esternay
Bar-le-Duc
Toul
Versailles
Paris
Sézanne
St. Dizier
Nancy
Rambouillet
Corbeil
Romilly
FRANCE
Fontainebleau
Seine
Aube
Vassy
Domrémy
Montereau
Troyes
Neufchâteau
Nemours
Sens
Pithiviers
Bar sur Seine
Chaumont
Villenauve
Joigny
Montargis
Châtillon
sur Seine
Langres
Orléans
Tonnerre
Maisey-le-Duc
Auxerre
Loire
Gien
Briare
Monthard
Champlitte
Saône
Is-sur-Tille
Clamecy
Avallon
Semur
Gray
Cosne
Dijon
Sancerre
Besançon
Gièvres
Vierzon
La Charite
Saulieu
Auxonne
Bourges
Dôle
Salins
Doubs
Châlons Saône
Poligny
Lons le Saunier
AMERICANS IN FRANCE
Towns in France identified with the work of the American Army are underlined . . . Chaumont
Battlefields of American Offensives
Principal Railroads, thus
Canals, thus
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90

his Staff would precede them to France. This announcement came with news of the signing of a Selective Conscription Bill by the President, which in two years could give the United States an army of at least 2,000,000 men, and did give us many more. At the same time that he signed this bill the President gave his decision against the raising of volunteer divisions by Colonel Roosevelt, assign-

THE FLAG OF AMERICANS WHO SERVED IN THE FOREIGN LEGION
At the Invalides this flag, on July 4, 1917, was presented to France and deposited in the Musée de l'Armée, men who had served in the Foreign Legion now joining bodies of American troops who were coming to France

ing as his chief reason that it "would interfere with the contemplated system of raising troops and would contribute practically nothing to the effective strength of the armies now engaged against Germany." He also issued a formal proclamation naming June 5, 1917, as the date for the registration of all male citizens of the United States between the ages of 21 and 30 years, from whom would be selected the

first increment of the new army. Points emphasized in the President's proclamation were these:

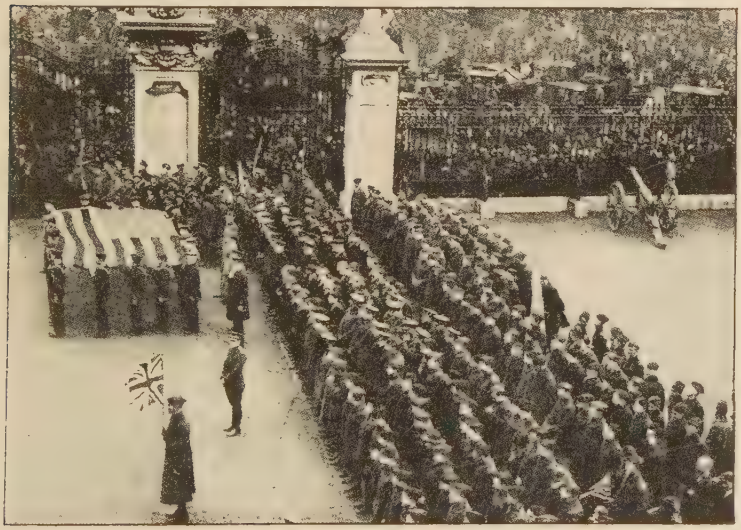
"It is not an army that we must shape and train for war; it is a nation. Our people must draw close in one compact front against a common foe. The whole nation must be a team in which each man shall play the part for which he is best fitted. It is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling; it is rather a selection from a nation which has volunteered in mass. There must be no gaps in the ranks."

The Pershing expedition was only an advance guard. Other regulars would go to France and Belgium "as fast as they can be got ready." It was believed that President Wilson was following out almost in exact detail a plan that Marshal Joffre had advocated in his talks to American military officers in Washington. Joffre wanted a force of American soldiers sent over at once that would correspond in numbers to an American Army division. He contended that an army could not be trained for modern warfare on American soil until a considerable number of its officers and men had been actually within the sound of guns in France, and so he suggested that a division be at once sent over and trained in the great camps at Châlons. There they could learn "the game" and nowhere else. After training they could be sent to the line and then be reinforced by another contingent from the United States. In this way we could obtain a body of men skilled in the actualities of war as waged in modern days and who might afterward return to assist in training increments of our 500,000 men to be added to the force as rapidly as they could be assimilated.

President Wilson, in his decision to reject the services of Colonel Roosevelt, said he was acting on expert and professional advice "on both sides of the water." As a matter of fact, the General Staff of the American Army was understood to have been almost a unit against Colonel Roosevelt's proposed army. Its rejection was a distinct victory for military men, altho they lost on the question of an expedition, many of them not favoring the sending of any troops whatever until nearly a year had passed. The chief aims in the dispatch of the Pershing expedition were to strengthen the French battle-line and to produce the desired

psychological effect in all Allied countries, including the United States.

On May 23 America's pioneer Army Medical Unit received a welcome in London from King George at Buckingham Palace. Twenty-five surgeons and more than double that number of nurses paraded in the gardens of the palace. The King, accompanied by the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and Princess Mary, and attended by members of the royal household, delivered a brief address of welcome, and then



AMERICAN SOLDIERS AND SAILORS AT THE MAIN BUCKINGHAM PALACE GATE

walked along the line of surgeons shaking hands with each member of the unit as introduced by Major Gilchrist. Handshakings were followed by brief conversations, the initiative in which was occasionally taken by the American visitors themselves, greatly to the amusement of the King and Queen, neither of whom disclosed any wish for a punctilious regard for an ancient custom on occasions of ceremony that one speaks to royalty only when first spoken to. One of the surgeons, a Westerner, whose very appearance radiated democracy, was seen chatting with Queen Mary as

freely and pleasantly as he might have done with a woman of his own country. On May 24 sixty students from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Northwestern Universities, were welcomed by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House. The second medical unit arrived late on the same day.

American Army Engineers who reached France at the same time had gone out to determine the precise needs of the French railways, for the repair and maintenance of which nine engineering regiments were being organized in the United States. The party consisted of William Barclay Parsons and William J. Wilgus of New York, W. A. Garrett of Chicago, and Captain A. B. Barber of the Army Engineer Corps.

U. S. OFFICIAL PHOTO

COL. WILLIAM J. WILGUS

Mr. Parsons, who returned from France in 1919 with the title of colonel, was the engineer of the first New York subway. Mr. Wilgus, who returned a colonel about the same time, had been a vice-president and chief engineer of the New York Central Railway, and more recently had been employed by the Federal Government to make physical valuations of the great railway systems of the country. The work of engineers in France was little commented on in newspapers, but it involved an amount of new construction and rehabilitation of which the total figures astonished Americans as well as the French. There was a widely printed report that they had built a four-track railway from an Atlantic port across France to the battle-front, but this was as mythical as the story of Russian armies landing in Scotland and crossing England on their way to the Western Front in the first year of the war. These American engineers did, however, carry through a volume of reconstruction,

amounting in total to about three times the entire physical equipment of the Lehigh Valley system.

Inasmuch as all railway lines in France center in Paris, there exists a condition which makes Paris the hub and the railways the spokes of a wheel, but for war purposes the need was not for soldiers and supplies to reach Paris, but to go past Paris and reach the battle-front, which meant that in going from Atlantic ports to the front existing French lines had to be crossed again and again, all of which called for the construction of connecting links, cross lines, and branches, and their direct extension north and east to the battle-front — now forward, now backward, as that front changed with the fortunes of battle. This work meant also the building of vast depots where supplies could be deposited, and from which, by means of new trackage, supplies could be transported systematically and promptly to soldiers at the front. Acres of ground were covered at several stations by vast storage edifices, these being erected behind the lines far enough to anticipate any possible German advance.

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COL. WILLIAM BARCLAY PARSONS

Men under Colonel Parsons had experience in actual fighting. This occurred on the last day of November, 1917, while they were engaged in railway building west of Cambrai. At the time General Byng had been thrown back by a German counter-attack, and Colonel Parsons's men, with picks and shovels, rendered efficient assistance in checking the German advance at Gouzeacourt. His men had no arms whatever. This was the first large battle in which any American forces became engaged in France after we had entered the war.

On May 25 an American force first began active service on the French front when Section 1 of the American Muni-

tion Transport Service, comprising forty-odd young Americans who had left their training-camp late the night before, began to hurry up shells and ammunition to French fighters in the trenches. They were under command of Captain E. I. Tinkham, a resident of Montclair and a Cornell University man, and Lieutenant Scully. Its training-camp was in a beautiful and historic forest, close to where the army was fighting. The American flag was floating beside the tricolor high above the encampment. The work of these men in driving five-ton automobile trucks was the hardest sort of physical labor. The hours were irregular and when battles were taking place turns on duty might continue for days. These great trucks had to lumber along in range of enemy shells.

Meanwhile General Pershing and his Staff had been busy in Washington preparing for the arrival of regular troops called East from the interior. When the order came to prepare immediately an expeditionary force to go to France, virtually all the men selected were on the Mexican border and Pershing himself was in San Antonio. No army transports were available, the vessels that were to carry the troops being scattered over their usual routes. Pershing's quiet arrival in Washington at this time caused some speculation, but the newspapers refrained from discussing it. There were a thousand other activities afoot in the War Department at that time—all the business of preparing for the military registration of 10,000,000 men, of providing quarters and instructors for nearly 50,000 prospective officers, of finding arms and equipment for millions of troops yet to be organized, of expanding the Regular Army to full war strength, of preparing and recruiting the National Guard. In the midst of these activities Pershing one day dropt quietly into the War Department and set up headquarters in a little office hardly large enough to hold him and his personal staff. There, with the aid of the General Staff, of Secretary Baker and the Chiefs of the War Department Bureaus, army plans were worked out, and on May 18, the announcement made that a force under Pershing would be sent to France.

It was remarked one day that Pershing was no longer in

the Department and that the officers of the General Staff were also missing from their desks and no one could learn why. Days afterward word came from England that Pershing and his Staff had arrived in that country. The regiments that were to follow him, selected before he left, were already moving toward the seacoast, while other regiments were moving from points North and West; these movements, however, remained obscure. At certain embarkation ports great shipments of war supplies had been assembled, an armada of transports made ready, supplied, equipped, loaded with men and guns and sent to sea, all, however, with no mention of these operations at that time from the press or until after a fleet of transports had safely arrived in France. Then, on June 6, it was made public that some American warships had arrived and anchored off the coast of France, having convoyed a great transport ship loaded with 10,500 tons of wheat and that France had accorded them a tremendously enthusiastic reception.

Marshal Joffre, while in America, in his conferences with American Military chiefs, had seen practically everything he advised adopted—so much so, in fact, that by the time he resumed his work in Paris he had become known as "the godfather of the American Army." Joffre had virtually enlisted in the service of the United States for the duration of the war. France had lent to this nation its first soldier, the one man who, under a French republic, had earned the title of Marshal of France. Joffre was charged with the duty of placing at the disposal of the United States all that France and he had learned in three years of war. It was not merely the advice he could offer, or the assistance he could render in training Pershing's army, that would be valuable; it was the influence of it upon public opinion in the United States that would count most.

General Pershing, after his arrival in Europe, June 8, was accorded remarkable receptions in Liverpool, London, Boulogne, and Paris, which were in part recognitions of the honors that had attended the visits to this country of Balfour, Viviani, and Joffre, then just about completed, and of the action already taken by the United States in aid of the Entente Allies. Pershing had sailed on the White Star

liner *Baltic,* the voyage being without special incident. He had gone aboard the *Baltic* in New York harbor from a tug which conveyed him to the side of the ship as she stopt off Governor's Island, after leaving her pier in the North River. Very few persons in the whole country knew anything about his departure. American destroyers sent out from England, picked up the *Baltic* off the coast and escorted her through the danger zone. No enemy craft of undersea variety was seen during the voyage or made its presence felt.

The British did their utmost in paying honor to Pershing. He was taken to London by special train. Among the many honors accorded him in London was a luncheon with the King at Buckingham Palace. After five days he left for France and landed at Boulogne, welcomed with cheers from French Territorials and British sailors and soldiers. British soldiers and marines, lined up along the quays, rendered military honors as the vessel, flying the Stars and Stripes, preceded by destroyers and accompanied by hydroplanes and dirigible balloons, steamed into the harbor, and bands played "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillaise." The scene was striking in its animation. The day was bright and sunny, the quays crowded with vast throngs made up of townspeople and soldiers from all the Entente Allied armies, French and British troops predominating. Shipping in the harbor was gay with flags and bunting, many merchant craft hoisting American flags. Along crowded quays American colors were seen everwhere. A great wave of enthusiasm broke forth as the tall, muscular figure of Pershing stept upon the quay. As the band played the "Marseillaise," he and members of his Staff stood at salute.

In Paris he received a tumultuous welcome. At the station he was met by Marshal Joffre, M. Viviani, Ambassador Sharp, Paul Painlevé, the Minister of War, and General Foch, already famous as the man who at the Marne gave the finishing thrust. As Pershing's figure came to the small door of the carriage in the Gare du Nord, he was seen to stand there erect, motionless and expressionless, his eyes fixt above the heads of the reception party, which occupied a cleared space on the platform. When the band struck up

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GENERAL PERSHING'S ARRIVAL IN FRANCE

FRENCH OFFICIAL PHOTO.

AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE

These men were among the very first to land in France

"The Star-Spangled Banner," his right hand was instantly at salute, and remained so while the "Marseillaise" was rendered, a statuesque figure, the incarnation of West Point training and tradition, as fine a specimen of American physical manhood as could be wished for. When the music stopt, he stept abruptly down the steps of the carriage to the platform where Ambassador Sharp introduced himself and M. Viviani gave an effusive, whole-hearted welcome. As Pershing turned a little to the right he saw standing there "Papa" Joffre. The two hands of each instantly went out to the other's two, and there they stood face to face, soldier-like, without a word, a splendid smile wreathing the face of the great Marshal, his eyes fixt in their gaze on the American General. After that came handshakings with M. Painlevé, representatives from the Elysée, and with General Foch.

As the party moved toward the gate, there was a shout which took an American observer back to the shouting in New York for Marshal Joffre. This yell was repeated over and over again, and became even more tremendous when the party reached the street. Here the people were either very old or very young, women greatly outnumbering the boys and old men. Literally every face wore a smile—not the happy, care-free smile of old fête days, but a smile that comes out of a suffering heart. The party drove in open carriages through one of the grand boulevards, General Pershing riding with Minister Painlevé, and Marshal Joffre with Ambassador Sharp, to a hotel on the Place de la Concorde. No conquering hero returning home could have had a more tremendous reception. Paris, and particularly the French Government, had planned a great demonstration, but it is doubtful whether even the most optimistic pictured the almost frantic crowds that all but blocked the progress of the automobiles.

Men and women literally cheered themselves hoarse and flung masses of flowers into the cars. Parisians declared that the only event in their lifetime that approximated the reception in enthusiasm was the one accorded to King George of England, in the autumn of 1914. From hundreds of windows American flags were waved by men, women and

children. Thousands of French girls, with flags pinned to their breasts and their arms filled with flowers bought from scanty savings, fairly fought for a chance to get near enough to the cars to hurl their offerings into the laps or on the shoulders of the astonished American officers. Americans apparently had not imagined the heights to which Parisian enthusiasm could rise. Boys, men and girls, and even old women, struggled to jump on the running-board of Pershing's car and shake hands with him. Not Pershing alone but every American who was recognized was burdened with flowers. Crowds shouted themselves hoarse with cheers for America. From every housetop along the route, from every window, from every elevation, and from thousands upon thousands who choked every thoroughfare near the line of march there came a welcome that no American in Paris could ever forget.

The next day was a continuous succession of enthusiastic popular demonstrations, given wherever the American commander made his appearance. Great throngs filled the Place de la Concorde early in the day, hoping to catch a glimpse of him at his hotel. Hundreds of French soldiers on leave from the front mingled in the throngs and gave hearty greetings to troopers of the Second Cavalry who accompanied him. A large American flag waved over the hotel. Everywhere were intertwined French and American colors. After Pershing had made a formal call on Ambassador Sharp he was escorted with military honors to the Palace of the Elysée and presented to President Poincaré, who at 12.30 o'clock gave him a state breakfast. Other guests were Premier Ribot, Minister Painlevé, Marshal Joffre, Minister Viviani, and Ambassador Sharp.

That afternoon General Pershing attended a session of the Chamber of Deputies, where the setting was worthy of the occasion, the large sweeping hemicycle showing hardly a Deputy absent, and the public galleries packed. In the diplomatic box facing the tribune sat Mr. Sharp. Time after time as M. Viviani eloquently described the part America was ready to play at that solemn moment of world destiny, the House rose to its feet, with Pershing looking down on a sea of upturned, cheering faces. The proceed-

ings began with an ovation for Pershing, during which, for six or seven minutes, he had to stand in acknowledgment of the applause. M. Ribot then went to the Tribune and outlined the course of events in Greece, which had just ended in the abdication of King Constantine. When he referred to the result as "extremely consoling," and added that "another source of comfort had come from America," the whole house rose and again applauded Pershing and Mr. Sharp. A dramatic climax came next day when at the Invalides were presented to Pershing, that he might hold them for a moment, the sword and the Grand Cross Cordon of the Legion of Honor that belonged to Napoleon, the most signal honor France could have bestowed on any man. Before that day not even a Frenchman had for years been permitted to hold in his hands these historic relics. Kings and Princes had been taken to the crypt that holds the body of the great Emperor, but they had only viewed his sword and cross through plate glass. Until that day these relics had not been touched for sixty years, or since the time of Louis Philippe.

General Pershing and his staff were conducted to the crypt by Marshal Joffre, who followed the precedent laid down by Napoleon in his lifetime as Emperor that only a Marshal of France might remain covered in his presence. After the great key had been inserted in the brass door of the crypt, Marshal Joffre and General Niox, Governor of the Invalides, stept aside to permit Pershing to face the door alone. Taking a deep breath, he stept suddenly forward and with a single motion threw his arm straight out and turned the key. In a tiny alcove at one side of the crypt the Governor of the Invalides then unlocked the sword case, drew out the sword, raised it to his lips, and presented the hilt to Pershing, who received it, held it at salute for a moment and then kissed the hilt. The same ceremony was followed with the Cross of the Cordon of the Legion of Honor, Pershing holding the cross to his lips before passing it back to the Governor. One of the staff officers said when the ceremony was over: "It was more than a historic moment. It was an epic one. Pershing at the tomb of Napoleon will live in French history, as does Washington in prayer at

Valley Forge. It would take some Victor Hugo to write about it properly."

American Regulars to the number of perhaps 25,000 arrived at a French port on June 26 and 27. They were met by frantic cheers from crowds that had gathered for hours before to welcome them. Enthusiasm rose to fever pitch when it was learned that the transports and convoys had successfully passed the submarine zone, news supplemented a few days later with details of battles with submarines in which some of the submarines were sunk. Five torpedoes had been fired at the transports without hitting any of them. The troops were in excellent spirits, enthusiastic over their successful trip and their reception, and eager for action. With the harbor dotted with convoys, the streets of this seaport were filled with soldiers in khaki and with bluejackets. This advance guard contained seasoned Regulars and Marines, trained fighting men still wearing the tan of long service on the Mexican border.

A new record had been set for the transportation of troops. Considering the distance covered and the fact that all preparations had to be made after the order to sail came from the White House on the night of May 18, it was believed that never before had a military expedition of this magnitude been assembled, transported and landed without a mishap in so short a time. The only rival was the movement of British troops to South Africa during the Boer War, but that was made over seas unhampered by submarines, mines, or other obstacles. All the American troops had been armed and equipped in the United States. At their camp on French soil were soon to be stored supplies enough to keep them for months.

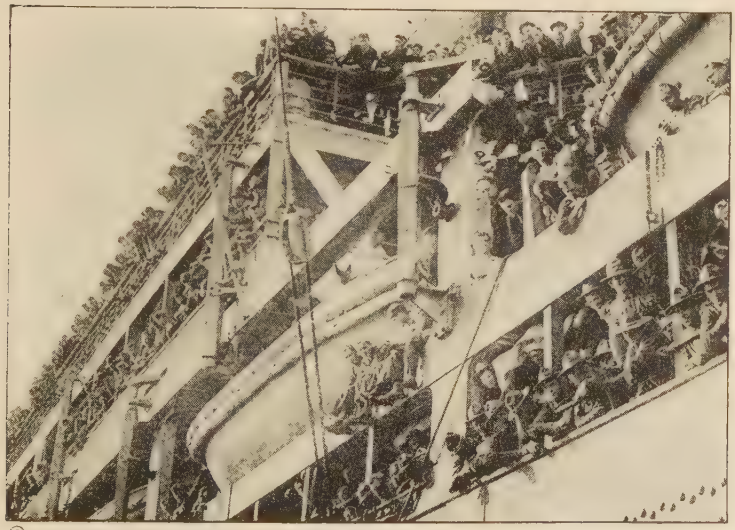
During the voyage over the flotilla had been guarded by war-craft. Every precaution that trained minds could devise had been taken. The circumstances in which the flotilla had sailed were afterward made known. In stretches of placid home-waters, the ships had been anchored for more than a week. When at last they sailed serenely eastward, not one of the newspapers, all of which knew about the preparations and the sailing, gave out a hint of what had happened. Hundreds of thousands of people along the At-

lantic coast, who depended entirely upon the newspapers for information of a military nature were, therefore, unaware until they read about it in the newspapers on June 20 that any of our troops had yet started for France, altho they had sailed within sight of thousands at seashore points. So with millions of Americans in interior places, they too were in the dark for weeks about the preparations and impatiently wondering if America ever would actually get into action.

Germans might have seen at least two of the transports, formerly American passenger-carriers, taking on board at one of their own line piers more than 2,000 troops. Only a few weeks before most of the transports had been American passenger-craft of high class, all capable of more than twelve knots, and some of which had achieved twenty. Shipwrights, machinists and laborers had tackled the job of converting these once luxurious liners into troopships. All the fine fittings of rare woods, tapestries, carpets, and rugs had been removed with care so that they might be restored to their places after the war. Well made and comfortable bunks took the places of luxurious cabins. The average capacity of the ships was about 2,000. Some of the swiftest carried 1,200, others more than 3,000. The speed of the fleet naturally was that of the slowest vessel or between twelve and thirteen knots, which was better than that of a German submarine running on the surface. Soon American naval officers and blue-jackets were fêted, cheered and idolized by adoring crowds in Paris wherever they went.

Unbounded enthusiasm existed in Washington as a result of the safe arrival of these troops on French soil. Within six months an army of between 200,000 and 300,000 Americans, including several divisions of the National Guard, could at the same rate be sent to France. Pershing, then a major-general, was to be made a lieutenant-general when Congress responded to the appeal of the War Department that it recreate that rank, in order that the commander of the American force might in his rank take his place with other commanders on the Allied battle-line. Twenty-one major-generals and brigadier-generals had already been named by President Wilson for the force of regulars who would serve eventually in Europe. Of these fifteen were

men who had been at West Point when Pershing was there. Pershing himself had had a voice in their selection. Pershing soon evoked from Parisians sincere comments on the energy with which he had taken up his tasks and in which he had shown the unceremonious directness of others among the world's conspicuous commanders. The thing to be done was the important thing to him, not the formalities it might surround itself with. Once, when a question was raised as to who should "call first"—that is, he or the person whom



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AMERICAN TROOPS ARRIVING IN FRANCE

he wished to meet—his earnest comment was, "The real point is, I must see him." Pershing and Joffre came at once into close cooperation, meeting constantly in Paris, now at the headquarters of one, now at those of the other. Crowds gathered at either place whenever these two were known to be in consultation. Once when both were at Pershing's headquarters and Joffre was leaving, Pershing was seen to accompany him out of the building and across the sidewalk to his automobile, where he opened the door of the car and, after seeing the Marshal well seated, closed the

door himself, each saluting the other as the car rolled away. Parisians saw something fine, something unusual, in that.

On July 3 a battalion of American Regulars that had landed from one of the transports a few days before arrived in Paris to take part in a parade on July 4, in celebration of the American Day of Independence. Wildly enthusiastic crowds packed the streets through which they marched, waving American and French flags, while girls pinned bouquets and flags on soldiers' coats, and French soldiers on leaves grasped the hands of Americans and marched beside them. Several times groups of shop-girls on their way to work slipt through police lines and kissed some of the soldiers—to their obvious embarrassment. A number of children knelt in the street as the regiment's flag was carried by. They were war orphans who had come out from an institution in the neighborhood—perhaps the most touching incident of that day's march.

To celebrate the Fourth of July, Paris turned out a crowd that probably no American city ever surpassed for size, enthusiasm and profusion of Stars and Stripes. The battalion that had arrived and was soon to leave for training behind the battle-front had that day its first official review in France, and became the center of the celebration. Everywhere the American flag was seen on public buildings, hotels and residences; on automobiles, cabs, and carts; on horses' bridles and on the lapels of pedestrians' coats. All routes leading to the Invalides, where a ceremony was to take place, were thronged before the battalion appeared. About the court of honor where the battalion was to be drawn up with a detachment of French Territorials, the adjoining rooms were crowded with the human overflow. Standing in the center were descendants of French soldiers who had fought in the American Revolution. Inmates of the French Soldiers' Home—the Invalides—erect and soldierly in appearance in spite of gray hairs, stood behind as a guard of honor. Alongside was a delegation from Le Puy, the city nearest the old landed estate which was the birthplace of Lafayette, carrying a lace-adorned flag for presentation to the American troops. The enthusiasm of the crowd reached its highest pitch when Pershing, escorted by Poincaré, Joffre,

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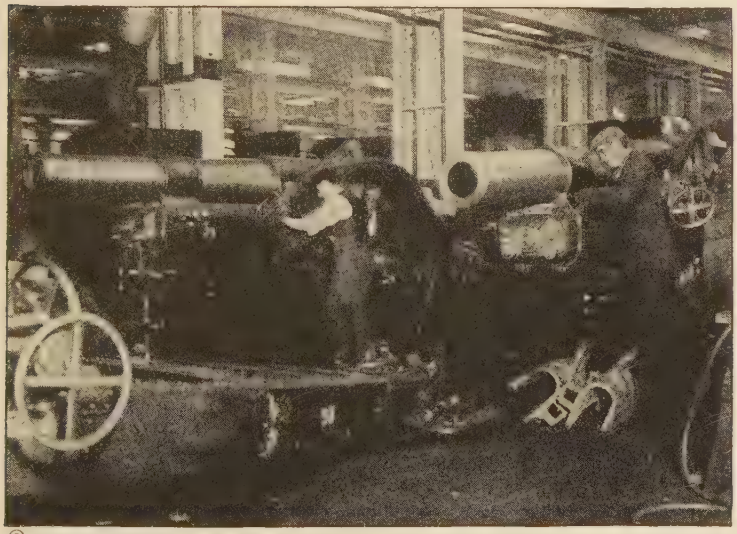
KING GEORGE AT AN AMERICAN BASEBALL GAME IN LONDON

Admiral Sims is presenting to the King the captain of the American Navy team

and other high officials, passed along to review the Americans drawn up in square formation. Cheering broke out anew when the American band struck up the "Marseillaise," again when the French band played "The Star-Spangled Banner," and when Pershing received flags from the President. Greetings of "Vivent les Americains!" "Vive Pershing!" Vivent les États Unis!" repeated over and over again by the crowd, welcomed the American standard-bearers as



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MAKING HOWITZERS IN AN AMERICAN FACTORY

they advanced. The crowd had waited for three hours to witness a ceremony that was over in fifteen minutes.

Outside, a greater crowd, covering the entire Esplanade of the Invalides, took up the cheers as Pershing's men marched away. The Cour de la Reine, the Alexander III bridge, leading to the Place de la Concorde, was black with people. Thousands of French soldiers, on leave from the front, were seen scattered along the route. Hundreds left the sidewalks and rushed forward to shake hands with the Americans. Other hundreds in trench-worn uniforms, stained and dingy, joined the marching troops on either

side in columns. Some of them wore bandages on their heads; others had their arms in slings. Children ran forward throwing flowers in front of the marching Americans. Flowers were tossed through the air from sidewalks or came fluttering down from windows, to be caught up by American soldiers, who stuck them into the muzzles of their rifles, or tucked them into their belts. From every window women and girls waved handerchiefs or flags. Thousands of children from primary schools in the quarter, assigned to best places, called out "Teddy!" "Teddy!" "Teddy!" and threw flowers to the soldiers.

At the cemetery where Lafayette is buried, the battalion passed through the arched gateway leading to an old convent, and thence to the little burial-ground adjoining. Here were gathered three or four hundred other persons, including prominent Americans and Frenchmen. In the presence of Ambassador Sharp, Pershing and Joffre, a wreath was placed by the Americans on the plain stone slab above Lafayette's grave. A remark attributed to Pershing at this time, much quoted afterward, was, "Lafayette, we are here." This cemetery, known as the Cemetery of Picpus, lies in the old St. Antoine neighborhood, south of the Place de la Nation, and not far from the Bois de Vincennes. Some of the oldest families in France have buried their dead in Picpus. A part of it was formerly known as the Cimetière de Guillotinés, 1,370 victims of the revolution having been buried there in 1793. The chapel, or oratory, which the cemetery adjoins, belongs to the nuns of the Sacré-Cœur de Jésus et de Marie. Lafayette died in 1837, his wife, the Comtesse de Noailles, who is also buried in Picpus, in 1807.

Various other events, such as a great public meeting at the Sorbonne, the placing of a wreath by the Municipal Council at the foot of the statue of Washington in the Place des États Unis, and one by the French society of Army and Navy Veterans, marked this observance of our great national holiday. It was said at police headquarters, by officials familiar with demonstrations, that at least a million people must have seen the parade along its line of march. When the last man had passed, great crowds surged to the middle of streets, breaking through the police and military

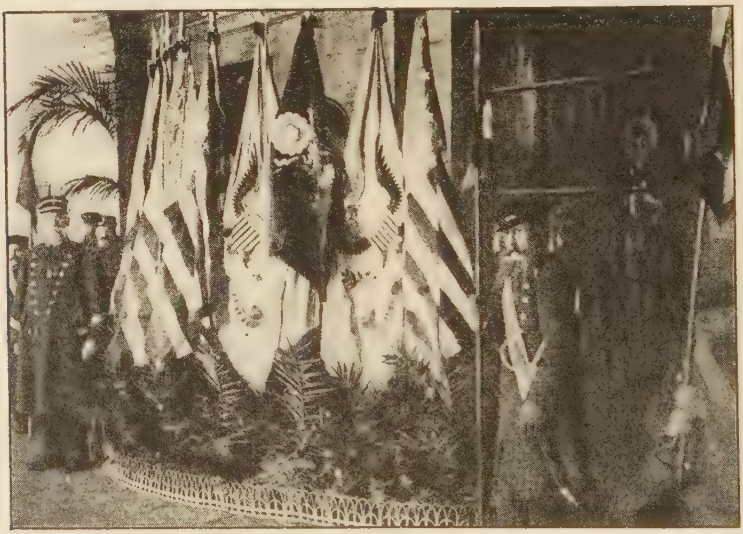
guards and blocking traffic for a long time afterward. More people were massed in the Tuileries Gardens than were seen on the Esplanade at the Invalides. Few could get even a glimpse of the parade as it came back from the Invalides, but all joined in a tremendous outburst of cheering that did not diminish in volume until the last man in the line had disappeared from view down the Rue de Rivoli, bound next day for the American training-camp that had been set apart for Pershing's men behind the fighting line. President Poincaré, at the conclusion of the day's ceremonies, sent a cablegram of felicitation to President Wilson.

General Pershing, in a notable report to the War Department on November 20, 1918, dealing with America's military operations from May 26, 1917, to the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, declared that the warmth of his reception in England and France was only equaled by the readiness of the Commander-in-Chief of the veteran armies of the Allies and their Staff to place their experience at our disposal. Altho the French and British armies were then at their maximum strength "all efforts to dispossess the enemy from his firmly entrenched positions in France and Belgium had failed," so that it became necessary for the United States to plan for a force "adequate to turn the scale in favor of the Allies." Keeping in mind the strength of the Central Powers—the period here referred to was the eve of the inconclusive Second Battle of Flanders and of the German advance in Russia which promised to make the Germans virtually masters of Russia—"the immensity of the problem that confronted us could hardly be overestimated."

A general staff "broadly organized and trained for war" had not then existed in our army, but in France "as models to aid us, we had the veteran French General Staff, and the experience of the British." By selecting from each "the features best adapted to our basic organization, and fortified by our own early experience in the war," a General Staff for the Americans was finally completed, and soon there was outlined and started "a system of schools" where instruction could be given by "officers direct from the front." One was a school where staff-work "was taught to carefully selected officers," another a school for men in the ranks

who were candidates for commissions, and there were also artillery- and aviation-schools, all so coordinated as to "develop an efficient army out of willing and industrious young men, many of whom had not known even the rudiments of military technique." Haig and Pétain had placed at Pershing's disposal officers and men "to whom we became deeply indebted for the opportunity given to profit by their valuable experience."

It was not until the end of October that the first of our divisions had passed sufficiently through the preliminary



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"OLD GLORY" AT THE INVALIDES IN PARIS

Descendants of Frenchmen who fought in our revolution presented these flags to American soldiers in Paris

stages of training to go to trenches for a final period of instruction there. Just as this division, which was the Second, was ready to start for the trenches (by that time we had landed 200,000 men on European soil), a reception was given at Pershing's headquarters to Marshal Joffre, who now saw face to face an army which he in this visit to the United States had been instrumental in bringing to France. In front of Pershing's headquarters, French

officers attached to Pershing's staff were drawn up with a battalion of poilus in faded blue, bayonets fixt and rifles at present arms, while both ends of a narrow cobblestoned street were choked with people crowding and pushing for a sight of Joffre. Then came the blast of an automobile siren and gendarmes pushing back the crowd, after which a big blue limousine swung around the corner and stopt in front of headquarters. An officer sprang out to open the doors

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AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN PARIS

In the center of the picture is seen the statue of Strassburg on the Place de la Concorde. Since 1871 it had been draped in black

of the machine, three buglers blew a salute, and the powerful erect figure of the Marshal stept lightly to the street. He had motored with Pershing through more than a score of French villages in which American troops were billeted, and had received everywhere remarkable demonstrations of esteem alike from soldiers and people. At the review both men were loudly cheered when they came into view, and so were the French soldiers when they swung by in review, and

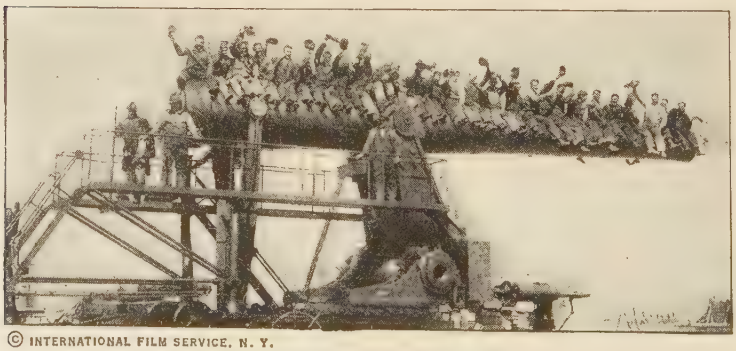
Americans when the Marshal walked before them. A French band had burst into the "Marseillaise" and women and little children had joined in the singing. The Marshal made his speech in French, saying he was sorry he could not deliver it in English, but that he was not accustomed to much public-speaking in any language. He said:

"In every way you have realized our hopes. The best proof of your earnestness, your determination to help win this war against autocracy, may be read in your eyes as I look into them. Under the direction of General Pershing you are getting ready to face the enemy. Guided by that eminent chief, guided by the zeal with which your great new armies are being perfected, you will move forward to gather the laurels and glory that lies before you.

"All the news I have from America is to the effect that there, as well as here, you are working in the same intense manner. Guided by such men as General Pershing, your Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, and your Chief of Staff, General Bliss, you are rapidly going ahead, and I am confident our enemy will see before him one of the most formidable war machines which could ever be imagined.

"Our enemy believed, in his foolish pride, that he could dominate the universe. Your reply to him has already been most eloquent—more eloquent than he ever dreamed. You have come here to join the Allies in delivering humanity from the would-be yoke of German intolerance. Let us continue to be united, and victory surely will be ours."

The Marshal for this occasion was attired in his familiar



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A DEFENDER OF NEW YORK HARBOR
One of the 14-in. disappearing guns mounted at Sandy Hook

blue coat and red breeches, such as he wore in America. As the American soldiers passed in review, they wore full fighting equipment, including trench-caps, and gas-masks dangling at their belts. Joffre and Pershing afterward took luncheon some thirty miles from the reviewing ground in the mess-hall of the accredited American correspondents. French and American bands alternated outside in playing. Beneath rolling storm clouds, a French airplane kept its vigil overhead, and special guards of French and American soldiers were gathered about the place.

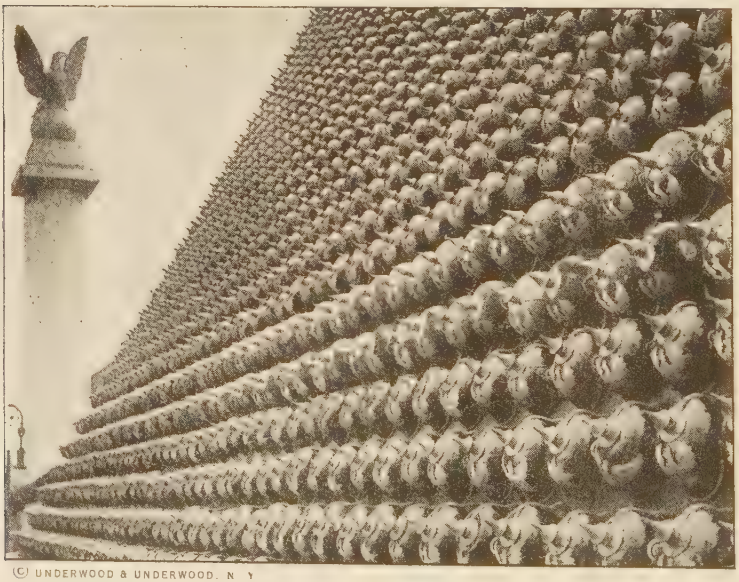
Our soldiers under Pershing, on arrival in France, did not at once go to the front, but to training-camps, the most of which were in Eastern France, north of Toul and south of Verdun. Here they were in training for several months, after which they went to the front in comparatively small detachments, serving under the French mainly, but a few under the British. Gradually they came to have experience in skirmishes north of Toul, the most notable of which was at a place named Seicheprey.

The first battles in which something really notable was achieved by our men were those at and near Château-Thierry, at the end of May and early in June, and the one at Cantigny about the same time. Meanwhile the Twenty-seventh Division, composed of New York State Militiamen, had been sent to the British front, back of Armentières, where with several small engagements they took part in the later defense of Kemmel Hill, and cooperated with the Thirtieth Division, as well as with Australian and British troops, in one of the notable successes in which Americans took part either at this time or afterward. This was the fight at the St. Quentin Canal and its tunnel, which resulted in the breaking of the Hindenburg line at its strongest point, late in September.

In three other features of Foch's victories Americans were to have conspicuous parts. The first was the holding up of the German advance across the Marne, in May and June, foreshadowing the victory of July 18, followed by a continuous battle of two or three weeks, in which Ludendorff was finally forced to retreat beyond the Vesle. Another achievement, and the first of which Americans were in sole

command, was the elimination of the St. Mihiel salient, which was begun on September 12 and soon became a complete and easy victory. The last considerable achievement of the Americans was the Meuse-Argonne operation, where they fought until the end of the war on the eastern side of the forest, in cooperation with the French, who were on the western side, the two armies at the time of the armistice having reached Sedan and taken the city.[10]

[10] Principal Sources: The compiler's final chapter in "Balfour, Viviani and Joffre," supplemented by Associated Press dispatches, and General Pershing's report to the War Department made at the close of the war.



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GERMAN DRESS HELMETS INTENDED FOR USE IN A MARCH INTO PARIS

These helmets are a part of a collection said to have numbered 60,000 that were found in Rhenish Prussia by the American Army of Occupation, in 1918, some of which were sent to this country and employed as exhibits to stimulate subscriptions to the Victory Loan of May, 1919

ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Part XIII

THE SECOND BATTLE OF FLANDERS, THE CHEMIN DES DAMES, VERDUN AND CAMBRAI

AUSTRALIAN OFFICIAL PHOTO.

AUSTRALIANS PREPARING FOR MESSINES RIDGE

These soldiers are studying a great model of the terrain to be taken, the model "true in every detail" and covering more than an acre of ground

I

MESSINES RIDGE

June 7, 1917—July 28, 1917

FOR twelve months the front between the sea and the Lys River had been all but stagnant, after having been for the first two years of the war the chief fighting area of the British. In the half-moon of hills around Ypres, and the ridges of Wytschaete and Messines, the Germans had viewpoints which commanded the whole countryside, and especially the British line within the salient, so that any British preparations for attack would be under German eyes. Moreover, the heavy, water-logged clay where the British front was maintained lay at the mercy of weather, and in rain became a bottomless swamp. The Germans were acutely conscious of the importance of the terrain, and there was little chance of taking them by surprize. But now in June war flared up again in this region with all its old-time fury.

David Lloyd George arose at 3 o'clock on the morning of June 7, and sat down by an open window in his residence at Halton Heath, England, waiting for an explosion. Presently from across 130 miles of land and water he heard distant thunder, and then knew that a million pounds of explosives had hurled skyward German first-line trenches on the France-Flanders border, and that British soldiers were charging forward toward the crest of the Messines-Wytschaete ridge. Plans for the explosion of this great mine had been long maturing, and Lloyd George had been apprized of the exact moment when it would be set off. When he went to bed the night before, he had left instructions that he should be called at 3 o'clock, in the hope of hearing the crash that was to herald the renewal of a British offensive. Some idea of the magnitude of the explosion may be obtained by comparing it to a series of such blasts as shook New York City when the Black Tom disaster

occurred in the summer of 1916 and windows were shattered as far away as Connecticut, the detonation being distinctly heard in Philadelphia, nearly 100 miles away.

This Messines attack preceded by gusts of drum-fire and the detonation of a million pounds of high explosives, began beneath a summer moon over a nine-mile front. It led to the capture of more than 5,000 prisoners and many guns. The immediate effect of the victory was to give the British command of a large region in the fighting area. The line of hills between Wytschaete and Messines was only half the height of Vimy Ridge, but it was the only high land left for miles around and controlled a flat agricultural country. "Everywhere we captured our first objectives," Haig reported. By day and night artillery roared an almost continuous bombardment. Haig had kept furious action going elsewhere when he suddenly delivered his biggest blow in the Messines-Wytschaete sector. Until this action his movements had been in suspense over twenty days—isolated struggles back and forth, but no mass-attacks such as those with which he now pounded the Germans.

The inception of a deep mining offensive at this point really dated from July, 1915; but the proposal to conduct offensive mining on a large scale had not been definitely adopted till January, 1916. In all, twenty-four mines had been constructed by the British, four of which were outside the front ultimately selected for their offensive. Many of them had been completed for twelve months. Constant and anxious work had been needed to ensure their safety. A total of 8,000 yards of gallery were driven in their construction, and over a million pounds of explosives were used. The simultaneous discharge of such an enormous aggregate of explosive was without parallel in land mining.

At the beginning of the war the area behind the British front from Ypres to the Lys had been served by one railway only. This was the trunk line from Calais to Lille by way of Armentières. At Hazebrouck, a line branched off from it which, skirting the western end of the Mont-des-Cats range, connected Ypres with the railroads leading to Ostend, Bruges, and Ghent. Between the first battle of Ypres and the battle of Vimy-Arras these inadequate communications had

BEFORE MESSINES RIDGE WAS TAKEN

Gen. Sir Herbert Plumer, commander of the Second British Army, who prepared the great explosion of June 7, 1917, is here shown with cap raised, while examining a mine crater. This mine was exploded before the attack on Messines itself as a part of the preliminary training Plumer gave his army

been greatly supplemented, and in subsequent weeks were developed to such an extent that behind the British lines there existed "a series of junctions, with broad gage and narrow gage trains, all as busy as a London terminus." At the same time roads and paths in the district were enlarged. Special precautions were taken to supply the infantry with water. Existing lakes were tapped, pits to catch rain-water were dug around Kemmel, and the water of the Lys was pumped into barges and then sterilized. From lakes, pits, and barges, pipe-lines were run forward and provision made for their rapid extension in the event of victory. On June 15 from 450,000 to 600,000 gallons of water daily were being supplied and arrangements had been made for the transport of water, rations, and stores by mules, horses, and men. During the attack water was delivered to troops within from 20 to 40 minutes of their taking new positions. In one case carrying parties arrived with water and rations four minutes after the capture of an objective. Following the explosion and under a curtain of fire, English, Irish, and Australian troops supported by tanks started from Messines across the open, dismayed Germans offering but slight resistance and being everywhere beaten back.

How many mines had gone up at once no one knew, but there were perhaps a score. Since a year before these mines had lain under German feet, undiscovered. Nine great, leaping streams of flame shot up, each a huge volcano in itself, with as many more volcanoes going off at the same moment from points out of sight. The whole horizon gleamed with coruscating flame, with flash of guns, stabs of bursting shells, and streams of light-flares, the whole sky being ringed with lightning which flashed white, yellow, orange, red, and green. Overhead in the pale blue sky the moon floated serenely. While the clamor was at its height, the first flush of dawn crept rosy-red above Ypres, the sun invisible behind a bank of smoke, but flushing the sky with red, making a truly terrible dawn. Against the pink and opal sky the forms of kite-balloons, already far up, grew defined. Singly or in squadrons, airplanes went droning by. Overhead airplanes continued to circle, until the sky

was dotted with puffs of black shrapnel smoke from enemy's anti-aircraft guns. After it had been broad daylight for two hours the guns had not yet ceased.

One might regard Messines as a separate battle, or as a development of the battle of Arras and Vimy Ridge which had ended about a month before. The importance of Messines was that it formed the final eminence in that immediate neighborhood before reaching the plain of Flanders. It dominated the southern ridge of the Ypres salient. No troops, transports, guns, hardly any individuals, for two years had been able to move in the southern Ypres area without being under observation from this ridge. From Ypres downward there were several ridges opposed to the British front which had left them at the mercy of enemy observation—Albert Ridge, wrested from the enemy in the battle of the Somme; Vimy, taken in the battle of Arras, and Messines, which the British had now seized.[1] The number of prisoners taken was more than 6,000. Paschendaele Ridge, however, still remained to the north, altho it was sometimes referred to as virtually part of a long ridge of which it and Messines were the northern and southern eminences.

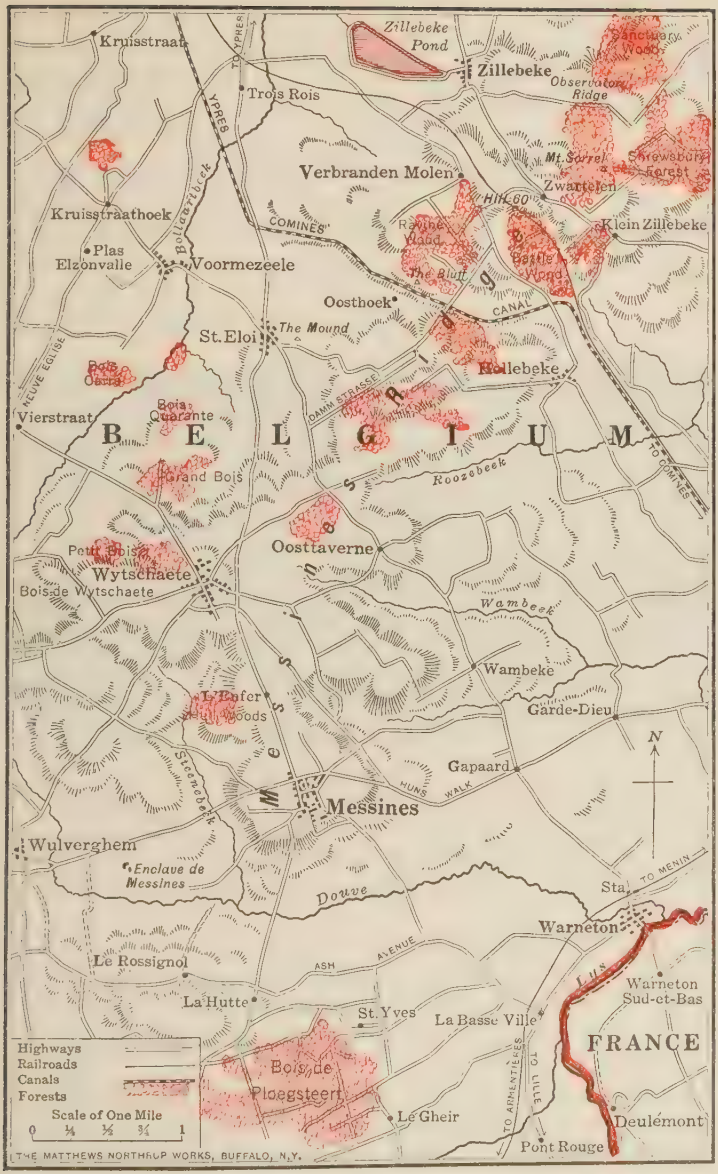
"The earth opened and the German line disappeared," was one sententious description. Another correspondent said that the hill on which he stood "shook like jelly." Staff estimates showed the day's cost to the British as less than 10,000 men. Comparative failures in somewhat similar operations earlier in the war had cost them many times that figure. German prisoners put their own losses at 35,000. The victory encouraged a belief in this country, as exprest by American experts, that the war might be decided in the air because in this Messines fighting, airmen outweighed all factors after the big mine. British aircraft "ranged" the enemy for British guns and the two together smashed the German lines, leaving the infantry at the mercy of the British. Special British air-spies circled over the Prussian artillery lines, signaling back exact ranges, so that British shells might reach them and save British lives through silencing guns. In the misty dawn would appear swift, super-battleplanes, under orders to attack from the sky the German infantry

[1] Perry Robinson in The New York *Sun*.

on the ground. They then dipt low, disregarding the rattle of German rifle-fire, and raked the trenches with machine-guns, speeding back to scatter upcoming infantry reinforcements.

The result of this operation at Messines was that the British line was almost completely straightened out between St. Julien and Armentières so that the Ypres salient, which had been such an important feature of fighting in this region could now be considered as wiped out. Haig's policy thus far developed was that of striking steady, heavy, alternating blows. He hammered first at one point and then at another. He had no present expectation of breaking through the German line. What he intended to do was to thin it out and depress its morale by a long succession of such blows as this, until it should be weakened enough to make it possible to break it. When Haig finished his blow at Arras and, instead of striking again, went ahead with preparations for a blow at Ypres, the Kaiser exprest joy over Haig's "defeat"; but Haig, entirely undisturbed, methodically went along getting his next blow launched. This promised to be the history of the campaign through the rest of the year, as it was the history of Foch's great campaign in 1918 which ended the war.

The bulk of the offensive work fell on the British. The French, apparently, intended to conserve their men. This was Joffre's policy and also Foch's, altho Nivelle's had been more aggressive. Nivelle's attacks seemed to have been more expensive in men than the policy of attrition warranted, and the French afterward stood more and more on the defensive. With Russia for the time out of the war, and Roumania waiting on Russia, the burden of the offensive had fallen on the British in the west and the Italians in the south, with such aid to the British as it might be expedient of the French to render. The taking of Messines Ridge robbed the Germans of the last commanding natural position they had so long occupied opposite the British line. Bapaume, Vimy, and Messines Ridges, as well as Monchy Plateau, five miles east of Arras, had all been captured by the British in three months. This materially changed the military situation on this front. There remained to the Germans the much-talked



MESSINES RIDGE AND WYTSCHAETE

of "Siegfried" and "Wotan" lines, with their various support systems of trench defenses. The "Siegfried line" represented that portion of the "Hindenburg line" which lay between Quéant and St. Quentin. Lille, toward which progress had now been made, was the chief of a little group of three cities in which, prior to the war, centered France's great textile industries. It formerly had a population of 218,000. Its two sister-cities, Roubaix and Tourcoing, were together the homes of about an equal number of persons. Tourcoing and Roubaix stand on rising ground from four

A MINE CRATER ON THE WESTERN FRONT

When opposing forces were firmly entrenched in a deadlock, often the only way out was a mine, which was dug stealthily as far beneath the surface of the earth as possible, a tunnel running out under the enemy trench, and then a tremendous charge would be exploded. The result to the enemy was like the bursting of a pent-up volcano directly beneath their feet, without the slightest warning, with death and destruction in its train

to six miles northwest of Lille, the only high land left in front of the British. To their right, however, Lille was protected by a ridge which stood between it and Armentières, the town where the right wing of the attacking British army rested.

The victory at Messines was the Allied answer to Hindenburg's assurance to the German people that the British offensive on the West Front had been brought to a standstill. The German retreat had failed to do what it was intended to do: it had failed to postpone the Allied offensive of 1917.

Hardly had the Germans established themselves in their straightened line than the British attacked them vigorously. The two offensives were successful as a local operation, in which ground was gained and large numbers of prisoners captured, but disappointing in the larger strategical sense. Hindenburg had temporarily stopt the movement, but his report gave an unwarranted impression that the Allied offensive of 1917 had exhausted itself. The Allies had far-reaching plans. Their operations displayed an energy which must have been disheartening to Germany, and British armies were becoming more formidable every month. They had learned to break German lines, however strong, at a minimum cost to themselves. It was the repetition of this process which Germany dreaded, for the morale of no army could be maintained indefinitely under such punishment.

General Pershing's arrival in England coincided with this British success. It was a coincidence ominous in its suggestiveness to Berlin. Allied superiority on the West Front in numbers and munitions already had made it possible apparently to crush almost any portion of the German line chosen for attack. That superiority would now increase in spite of Germany's efforts to counterbalance it. In fact, Allied preponderance was becoming more and more decisive as Germany's reserves in men were being used up. The war was to be decided on the Western Front because that front was the most accessible to the Americans and the British. The Allies could put more men in the field in France than Germany could ever hope to send there and keep there. The Allied stock of munitions was also much ampler. In view of these relative advantages and disadvantages, the war had now become largely a test of German endurance. Could Germany's soldiers stand up for two years longer under blows like these?

In this battle the Second British Army was fortunate in its leader. Sir Herbert Plumer, now sixty years of age, had in a high degree the traditional virtues of the British soldier, and especially had county line-regiments which had always been the backbone of the army. He had fought with his regiment in the Sudan in 1884; he had served in the Matabele rebellion; in the South-African War he had con-

tributed to the relief of Mafeking, had taken Pietersburg, hunted DeWet in Cape Colony, and at the second battle of Ypres he had turned the tide. During months of camparative inaction he had been a warden of the Flanders marshes. For a year and more Plumer had been making ready for the offensive in which he was now playing the chief part. In a single day's fighting he had advanced two and a half miles on a front of nearly ten; he had wiped out the German salient and carried also its chord; he had stormed positions on heights which the enemy regarded as impregnable; his losses were extraordinarily small, and he had taken 7,200 prisoners, 67 guns, 94 trench-mortars, and 294 machine-guns. The battle of Messines belonged in history with Nivelle's victories at Verdun in the winter of 1916.

IN A WESTERN TRENCH
British "Tommies" are watching German prisoners as they move along in the trench

Not satisfied with the capture of the ridge, Haig's men continued here and there to dig further into the territory held by the Germans. Thrusts were made south and east of Messines, in both of which appreciable gains were made, especially in the neighborhood of La Poterie farm. Nearly two miles of trenches were stormed and occupied on June 12 and, in addition, the small village of Gaspard, directly east of Messines, was captured. East and south of Messines fresh advances by Haig's forces and the capture of important first-line positions were reported. The new advances in the neighborhood of Gaspard, which lies directly east of Messines, between the River Lys and St. Yves and east of the Ploegseert Wood, formed a direct menace from both north and south to the important town of Warneton and the road leading toward Comines.

Near Lens on June 20 the Canadians, in an assault on a position held by the Germans which was barring the way to the coal city, had routed out the defenders, captured trenches and incorporated them in the British lines. The Germans endeavored to regain the lost terrain, but were beaten off. In the last week of June bad weather brought the operations of Haig's army almost to a standstill except for bombardments in which the Germans reciprocated, certain patrol reconnaissances, and aerial operations. A slow but sure encirclement of Lens was going on. Important vantage points west and southwest of the town had been captured weeks before. A fresh blow at the German lines was the occupation of the village of La Coulotte, situated a mile to the south. With British forces virtually enveloping the town, except in the east, the Germans had now to cease mining coal in the immediate region of Lens.

By July 28 negotiations were in progress for the consolidation of American and British munition interests, which would add to the resources of the Allies and effect material economies in purchasing. Dr. Addison, the British Minister of Munitions, said that 1,500,000 tons of material for his department were shipped monthly from the United States and Canada. Of this amount the total loss from the submarines since the ruthless warfare began had reached only 5.9 per cent. Up to March, 1917, the production of explosives

in England had quadrupled in a year; the increase over March, 1915, was 28 to 1. More than 2,000 miles of railway-track had been laid down back of the fighting-front, mostly with track pulled up in England, Canada, and Australia. Nearly a thousand new locomotives were at work. The annual production of steel had been raised from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons, and would eventually reach 12,000,000 tons. In six months a million and a half steel helmets had been distributed. Such a statement made it possible to understand the extent to which the Allies this year were becoming masters of the offensive in the west. By July 1 there was hardly a mile of front from the Belgian coast to St. Quentin where the British guns were not hurling high explosives into the German trenches and where British soldiers were not prepared to advance. The fighting front had grown from twenty miles to a hundred, and there were three hundred thousand veterans engaged, compared with a mere hundred a year before.

Artillery-fire on the Belgian coast in the second week of July culminated in an attack by the Germans against British positions on the Nieuport front. The German gain extended over a front of 1,400 yards to a depth of 600. Big guns completely leveled British defenses in the dunes sector and destroyed bridges and so cut them off from relief. This success was regarded in London as an incident, all the more unexpected because of the unbroken progress made by the British Army for two years. There was complete confidence, however, that the setback was temporary, but it was regarded as further evidence that the Germans would fight to the last man for the retention of the Belgian coast and the protection of their submarine-bases there. This success was especially valuable to the Germans at the moment as a set-off to defeats in Galicia and as a possible aid in solving their internal troubles. The Germans put their utmost artillery-power into the attack, reinforcing batteries of heavy navy-guns which they had long had in this district. The bombardment was of unexpected violence. The reverberation of the guns was heard plainly on heights around London. Most of the King's Royal Rifles and Northamptonshires fell in this fighting between Lombaertzdye and the sea. They

died almost to the last man. Scarcely any of the meager group of survivors came out unwounded. All that did emerge were men who swam the Yser. The battlefield was a maelstrom of smoke, steel, flying sand and débris. The German version declared that 1,250 British prisoners were taken, a figure which probably included killed and wounded.[2]

[2] Principal Sources: The London *Times'* "History of the War," The *Sun*, The *Tribune*, The *Times*, New York; Associated Press dispatches, "Nelson's History of the War" by John Buchan.

ON THE FLOODED YSER, SOUTH OF NIEUPORT

II

ON THE CHEMIN-DES-DAMES AND AT VERDUN—AMERICANS AT THE FRONT

July 9, 1917—November 3, 1917

THE watchword of the French troops at Verdun in 1916 —"*Ils ne passeront pas*"—applied equally well to a movement in the Champagne in 1917 when, on July 20, the Germans in great force made what was declared to be almost their fortieth attempt to obtain possession of the famous Chemin-des-Dames. It was perhaps the biggest offensive movement they had made since Verdun, so far as artillery was concerned, but it proved a failure. Four o'clock was striking when a terrific bombardment was opened along a front extending from just west of Cerny to Berry-au-Bac. Front lines and rear positions and all roads leading thereto were deluged with shells, large, small, and asphyxiating gas. The greatest concentrations advanced between Hurtebise and the Casemates plateau and between Casemates and the Californie plateaux, where the Germans hoped to recover Craonne. Rolling along the crest and over it, were dense clouds of black, brown, gray, and white smoke from tens of thousands of shells.

The Prussian Guards with several other divisions faced the French, while fresh troops were hurried across the Ailette from the north. French guns answered shot for shot, Where German reinforcements were observed they poured a hurricane of projectiles directly into them, creating confusion and causing heavy losses. Rifle- and machine-gun fire began to crackle, trench-mortars hurled torpedoes and rifle-grenadiers opened a barrage fire. German shock units as usual led the way, followed by waves of ordinary infantry. From Hurtebise to Casemate Plateau the attacking forces soon melted to a thin line under withering French fire. Those still able to do so retreated hurriedly to their

own line, which meanwhile came under an inferno of French shell-fire. In the same period from Casemate to Californie plateau other German troops were suffering heavily under similar conditions. Several times they gained small portions of the French front, but nowhere did they reach the crest itself. Aviators were busy. Sometimes the sky was almost covered with smoke from bursting shrapnel. It was a bad day for an attack because the clearness of the air made every movement, even in the narrow communicating trenches visible to airmen and observers in kite-balloons. The gain of a few hundred yards of a front-line trench, which was all that remained in German hands, was small compensation for fierce fighting in the forty attacks of ten weeks, during which conservative estimates placed the German losses near the Chemin-des-Dames at six figures.

G. H. Perris[3] sought to piece together some sort of explanation of the savage obstinacy of the German efforts to win back the Chemin-des-Dames. The French line lost hardly anything after some forty attacks. Evidently the line of observatories was of great importance so long as it was thought necessary to hold the Ailette Valley, but men wondered what magic there was in the Ailette Valley that the last German reserves should be sacrificed in an effort to keep it. Military writers who likened the effort to Verdun diagnosed it as one of the most considerable military operations of the year. As the world had been very slow in waking up to the real meaning of Verdun, so was it slower in understanding how nearly the Germans succeeded at Verdun.

Of the Chemin-des-Dames conflict one could say that it opened with no such success as marked the first furious onrush of the Germans on Verdun in February 1916. While in some places the Germans advanced rods, in others they were firmly held; and they took few prisoners or guns, while at Verdun they advanced more than four miles, taking 40,000 prisoners and more than one hundred guns in three days. The German General Staff spent men and blood without hesitation, not because positions were of great value, or because a successful retaking of Craonne

[3] Correspondent of The *Daily Chronicle* (London) and The *Times* (New York).

would materially have changed the military and strategic situation; it was because they were seeking, as they sought at Verdun, to crush the spirit of France.

Russia had now been eliminated and the United States was unable to send troops in large numbers to the front, and could not send them in sufficient numbers until the next year. English man-power had reached its maximum and French man-power was declining. For another eight months

GAS MASKS
It is not nose-bags filled with oats that the horses have on, but protectors against poison gas

the battle on the Western Front had to be fought on the Allied side by French and British. If either weakened, the whole front would be lost. So the Germans, just as at Verdun and for the same reason, were using up the best of their reserves in a desperate and terrific effort to batter in the heart of France. The supreme test of energy and endurance was going on along the Chemin-des-Dames. The

Germans were seeking for a decision over France as Napoleon, in the closing hours of Waterloo, sought to have a decision with the British when he put in the Old Guard. If the Germans could have beaten France to her knees at this time, they might conceivably have won the war. The struggle on the Chemin-des-Dames was a beginning, however, rather than an ending, but it was the real Hindenburg offensive about which so much had been written in the early spring—the effort for which the Germans had been gathering strength, the "victory" for which Hindenburg made his retreat. Had it succeeded perhaps they could have dictated peace. The attention of the Entente world at that time was fixt mainly on Russia, where disappointing events for the Allies were taking place. But the real danger-point was in France, and once more the post of honor and danger in the war had come to the French, for the battle of the Chemin-des-Dames took on an importance almost comparable to the battles of the Marne and Verdun. We saw there what seemed to be a final German bid for a decision in the west, but the French surpassed their Verdun performance in 1916, while the German performance on the Chemin-des-Dames was beneath what they did at Verdun.

Furious attacks were made by the Germans at Verdun also in this first week of July 1917 against that slaughter-pen called Hill 304. No German historian is likely ever to permit the outside world to know how many lives their many futile efforts to take this hill had cost the German people. Some progress was made by them on the northern slope, but the crest remained in the hands of the French. For Hill 304 the Germans had struggled for months before the battle of the Somme sounded the requiem of the battle of Verdun. Their attacks now were all in vain. At no place were they able to make headway. An even more disastrous defeat was administered to them further west along the Chemin-des-Dames. Here a major attack was delivered with all the force of infantry and artillery which had characterized the previous year's attacks at Verdun. The French, however, held all the advantage of positions.

The Chemin-des-Dames runs east and west along a crest

that completely overlooks and commands the Ailette immediately north. The German attack was against this ridge, infantry moving out from the cover of the valley and up the slopes. Not one German soldier reached the French lines, each attack being smothered by artillery- and machine-gun fire before it could really get under way. Finally the Germans, after several attacks, desisted, and a moderate artillery-fire only was maintained, infantry taking no part. It was a distinct defeat in what was very nearly a major engagement. French troops won a smashing victory on August 20 on a front of eleven miles north of Verdun. The advance, which was preceded by heavy artillery-fire lasting three days, reached at some points a depth of over a mile and a quarter. The number of unwounded Germans taken exceeded 4,000. The French attacked simultaneously on both banks of the Meuse and everywhere carried their objectives. On the left or west bank of the river the attackers gained Avocourt Wood, the summits of Dead Man Hill, and the Corbeaux and Cumières woods.

Once more the magic word "Verdun" thrilled the heart of Paris. "Victory at Verdun" was the headline of every newspaper in the city, the cry on every lip—Verdun, the city of destiny, whose name had been branded on the French soul by a six-months' tragedy of fear and hope. "A kilometer gained at Verdun, and 1.000 prisoners captured is worth more than an advance of twenty kilometers elsewhere and the surrender of a whole German army corps," said a great French general in the previous December, "both for its stimulating effect in France and the corresponding depression of German morale. Rightly or wrongly, Verdun has become a symbol, the gage of battle, the body of Patroclus." Military experts might talk of "the established equilibrium" and "the impregnable German line," but Bismarck knew better when he said it was the imponderable that counted in war—the evasive moral factor that plays havoc with a general's plans and sets his calculations at naught. German newspapers might stifle news of American preparations; they might deny British gains in Flanders, belittle the Italian successes, and blind their

readers' eyes to recalling how even Napoleon had found progress in Russia more fatal than death; but a French victory at Verdun they could not hide. The new battle of Verdun emphasized the fact that it had been no isolated stroke, when Nivelle late in 1916 reconquered a position which the Crown Prince had sacrificed half-a-million lives to win, but the beginning of a substantial offensive, a new echo of the Allied thunderbolts in Flanders. When French and British guns had resumed their hammering of the German line from the sea to St. Quentin, news of Verdun kindled to a flame the spirit of the waiting infantry and unnerved their battered opponents, keyed up only by desperation to resistance.

Dead Man Hill was aptly named. From where the former French line ran—that is, half-way down its slopes up to the summit—every inch of the ground on August 24 was soaked with the blood of German defenders. The place had been made a shambles. Not a blade of grass or a vestige of vegetation marked the awful scene. French victory at Dead Man Hill became a new monument to French artillery. To render Dead Man Hill "impregnable" the Germans had constructed there three tunnels. One, named the "Crown Prince," traversed the hill; another, named "Bismarck," connected the two summits, and a third, "Corbeaux," ran under Goose Hill. French 400-millimeter shells pierced each tunnel. In the Crown Prince tunnel alone were found the bodies of more than a hundred dead Germans, the victims of a single shell. When the French first swarmed over it they took 700 German prisoners from the same gallery. In Corbeaux tunnel the French took an entire German regimental staff with its maps, papers, and material. One thing General Pershing, who witnessed this assault, particularly emphasized, was the work done by the new French guns and he spoke about it to General Corvisart, whose troops made one of the assaults. Pershing and Corvisart were old friends. They were together in Manchuria.[4]

Everywhere, from the Alps to the sea, the tide had turned. One by one places that had been seized by German arms had yielded to the Allied advance. This latest Verdun

[4] Henry Wood, United Press correspondent.

operation was another of those quick, swift blows designed to disorganize German troops, inflict heavy losses and obtain vantage points of local importance. Concentration, terrific artillery-attack, alternating blows—now at Ypres, now at Lens, now near St. Quentin, now along the Chemin-des-Dames, and now on the heights of the Meuse above Verdun—this was Allied strategy as it unfolded itself, a constant demonstration of the immediate local superiority of the

TRENCHES BEFORE VERDUN

Allies and an almost daily revelation of decline in the morale of the German army. With the recapture of Dead Man Hill, the mind reverted to the last desperate struggle of March 1916, when the Germans got south on the east bank, took Douaumont, both the town and the fort, and approached Vaux, when all their lines were being swept by the flanking fire of the French across the river on Dead Man Hill.

After that the Germans began an attack on the left bank of the Meuse, which for days and days continued

to be one of the most desperate struggles in the war. Slowly they pushed across the Forges brook, took Malancourt, Haucourt, and Béthincourt, pushed in between Dead Man Hill and Hill 304, and on April 9 made the last of their great sweeping attacks. Thereafter Verdun became a pounding operation. The French had bettered their positions materially, and had deprived the Germans of their last direct sight of the ruined city from the Talon Hill. There was no ground left in their possession from which the twin towers of the cathedral rising above the fortress could be seen. Probably not less than a million men had been killed, wounded, or captured on this field since the war began. No single fortress in human history had been valued so highly alike by defender and attacker. The whole world rejoiced that, in the first month of the fourth year of the war, French spirit was still unbroken, that French soldiers had retaken the last and uppermost outpost of Verdun. When the Germans were telling the world that France was exhausted and her spirit broken, the world saw French troops sweeping along the Meuse to new victories.

The Chemin-des-Dames battle ranked among important engagements, because it gave another instance of the capacity of the French to rally in the face of momentary depression. It had been intended not only to break the spirit of France, but to use up French effectives, and prevent them from being employed either in Flanders or Lorraine. The French answer was threefold, a terrific defeat of the Germans, participation with the British in a successful advance about Ypres, and that superb offensive at Verdun, which wrote "Finis" to the whole Verdun chapter. The moral effect was even greater than the material. The French now felt that they could beat the Germans on their own chosen battle-ground and force them out of subterranean lairs into open fields. With the French capture of the Chemin-des-Dames plateau, a fitting equal to the Messines Ridge operation, German invincibility had become a legend of the past. Neither the French nor the British had anything now to fear from Hindenburg or from any other German commander whose claim of invulnerability for Germany's "iron wall"

had been proved an empty boast. The Allies had only to go on as they had begun, with a succession of continuous alternating blows, the British striking one day and the French another, and Hindenburg's line, already bent, would be broken. Success at Craonne, however, had been costly to France, so costly in fact that Nivelle was removed from his command, and Pétain, the original victor of Verdun, was appointed in his place.

Fighting at Verdun still went on in September, until the French recovered all the ground that was important or useful. What the Germans could not do at the Chemin-des-Dames in June, the French did on the Meuse, until Verdun had become like the Marne, another battle of arrest. Had the Germans won at Verdun, the decision at the Marne would have been abolished, but now the absolute character of German defeat was established. Violent attacks were made by the Crown Prince as late as September 24, but were checked with heavy losses.

By September 23, near this battlefield and merging into the fighting lines, were encamped, with a French army, some American troops, far removed from the rest of their compatriots. Here, for the first time, the Stars and Stripes was seen flying over a field camp of American soldiers. Some of them had been in a zone covered by German guns, and already two of their number had been wounded, a fact of which they were described as "being exceedingly proud."

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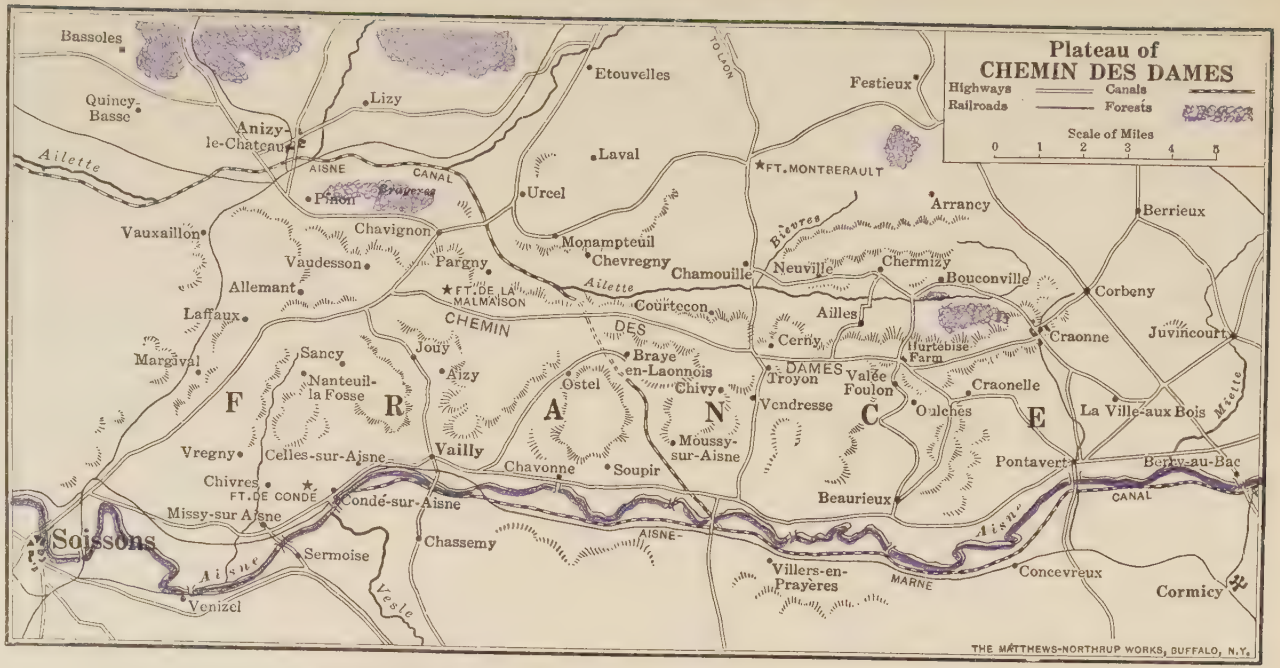
A SCENE IN DEVASTATED FRANCE

While Allied troops were consolidating positions won in Flanders, Pétain struck a blow against the German line northeast of Soissons on October 23, and made some of the most important gains of terrain since the French threw back the army of the Crown Prince at Verdun. The stroke was made over a front of about six miles, from east of Vauxaillon to Pargny-Filain. Under rain and generally unfavorable weather, the French pushed forward all along the line, aided by aviators, who, flying over German positions at an altitude of only about 150 feet, used their machine-guns. The German line at one point was penetrated to a depth of two and a fifth miles. Numerous important positions fell into the hands of Pétain's men, and more than 7,500 Germans, with war material, and 25 heavy and field-guns were captured. The greatest depth of the drive was in the center of the line, where the village of Chavignon was captured and the enemy fled pell-mell. Some of the best troops in the army of the Crown Prince were engaged, but their efforts were unavailing under the enthusiasm of the French to win positions which would enable them to press on later toward Laon. For about a week French artillery had been hurling tons of steel into the German line in preparation for the drive.

The attack which began nearly an hour before dawn took three main lines. Striking out from both sides of the mill of Laffaux toward Allemant village, the French had to deal with the Fourteenth Division—Westphalian troops who had suffered heavily in 1916 in the fighting before Verdun. The largest proportion of prisoners was captured in this sector, where the turning-point of the Hindenburg defense system was smashed in and Allemant occupied. The center of the assault lay northward from the Mennejean farm across the Laon high road. The most important sector of all was on the French right, extending from La Royère farm to Malmaison Fort, the capture of which was the great event of a brilliant day. The German command lost much, but not everything. For several months it had used lavishly its human material in the hope of tightening its hold upon what remained to it of this important barrier —the southern corner of the Hindenburg line. The fort



WHERE THE FRENCH MADE GAINS IN THE AUTUMN OF 1917

Here the Germans undertook what was accepted as the offensive which Hindenburg had promised as a result of his "victorious retreat" in Picardy, in March, 1917. Some forty attacks were said to have been made by the Germans on this now famous Chemin-des-Dames, which dominated the heights between the Aisne and the Ailette. When the struggle ended, late in the year, the French dominated the Ailette Valley, their most spectacular achievement having been the capture of Fort Malmaison, Pétain being then in command of French troops, in succession to Neville.

had been declassed long before the war, but had been of use to the enemy as an observatory. Against an attack its glacis had been cleared, its shells reconstructed and furnished with machine-gun posts and connected with a labyrinth of caves and tunnels running back to the northern end of the plateau and so to the German rear. This underground system of defenses illustrated a characteristic of the field, which distinguished it from that of other offensives. The hills were honeycombed with limestone caves, grottoes, and tunnels. Nature began the work and engineers extended it. Once masters of the Malmaison plateau, which was the key of the ridge between the Aisne and Ailette valleys, the French secured not only an unrivaled observation-point over the Laon plain, but turned the Chemin-des-Dames ridge on the northern slopes to which the Germans had hitherto held fast.[5]

Pétain was aiming to evict the enemy from the western half of the Chemin-des-Dames. His operations culminated in victory at Malmaison, as won by General Maistre, a couple of months after General Guillaumat terminated his offensive by the capture of Hill 304. The battle of Malmaison, which synchronized with the German successes at Riga and the growth of the Bolshevik conspiracy in Russia, began a day before the opening of the Austro-German October offensive which was só disastrous to Italians at Caporetto, and three days before Haig and Antoine delivered their considerable attack in the third battle of Ypres. It finished off successfully the battle of Craonne-Reims, which had begun on April 16, and proved to be the penultimate offensive of the Allies in 1917 against the German fortified zone between the Jura and the North Sea. This powerful fort, one of those huge entrenched camps designed by Rivière, had been built in 1875. But in 1913, with its masonry and concrete, it was sold to a Laon contractor, who used the material in building new barracks in Laon.

For centuries stone-cutters had been hewing their way into the bowels of this hog's back, the Chemin-des-Dames, whose sides were studded with artificial or natural tunnels, often 30 or 40 feet below the surface, and many, like the

[5] Cable dispatch from G. H. Perris to The New York *Times*.

Dragon's Cave beneath the Hurtebise Farm, were connected with the surface by hidden galleries. The majority of the underground chambers were still occupied by the Germans. The longest, the Montparnasse quarry, near the Soissons-Laon road on the northern slope below Fort Malmaison, blocked the way to the village of Chavignon, which lay at its feet. This quarry had an area of several acres; it was two-storied and could afford shelter to a whole brigade.

Above the Montparnasse quarry, and northwest of it on the summit of the wide plateau at the western end of the ridge, was Malmaison, surrounded by a muddy moat, the water from which had been drained off, its subterranean galleries strongly garrisoned by the enemy who, since September, 1914, had reconstructed it and furnished the environs and interior with several ferroconcrete machine-gun emplacements. From the ramparts the Germans could watch any French movements between the Ailette and the Aisne, or on the spurs running down to the Aisne. On the left, to the northwest, was a clear view over the Ailette along the lower edge of the west side of the Forest of Coucy, past the village of Braucourt. In front was Laon, eight miles away, perched on its strange isolated hill. Malmaison rose in the center of the plateau. Before it and nearer the French was another huge excavation, the Bohery quarry. German engineers at the date of the battle were still engaged in connecting this, the Montparnasse and other subterranean works, with the galleries under the fort; but had not completed their scheme when the French attacked.

Montparnasse and Bohery like the Fruty quarry on the edge of the Soissons-Laon line were specimens of the numerous subterranean obstacles in the way of General Maistre. The heaviest siege-artillery was required to pierce solid roofs. Pétain had provided several batteries of 15-inch and 16-inch guns which fired heavy shells with armor-piercing points enabling them to penetrate the roofs. Where the thickness was too great for the first shell to penetrate, a salvo of shells, falling about the same spot, reduced the layer of rock until it was thin enough to be penetrated. In this process the galleries of Malmaison were completely wrecked, as were the

interiors of caves. The Montparnasse quarry was made to resemble from above a slice of Gruyère cheese. In spite of its extraordinary thickness, at least two 16-inch shells broke through to the double gallery beneath, causing terrible casualties among the garrison. The holes made into the interior became funnels down which poured torrents of gas and bullets from shrapnel-shell. Caves and tunnels had been utilized by the enemy as secure hiding-places for

TELEPHONE SQUAD IN THE FIELD

reserves, who at the moment of the French attack were to come to the surface and reinforce the garrisons of the elaborately organized lines. The garrisons before had been in a condition of security, but now they lived lives of constant danger. Ceaseless explosions above their heads warned them that at any moment shells might enter and explode in their abodes. Projectiles exploding at the mouths of caverns brought down detached fragments of rock from

sides and roof creating an atmosphere of dust difficult to see through or to breathe in. The garrisons from time to time shifted their quarters, but so great was the volume of projectiles that seldom could they find any spot unhammered by guns. Most of them had to be resigned to their fate. They as well as their comrades in trenches and in "pill-boxes" above became isolated, and were deluged with gas-shells to an extent never before experienced. Roads and paths by which food, cartridges, and grenades could be brought up, or down which wounded and shell-shocked could reach the rear, were rendered impassable by curtains of shrapnel-shell. From October 20 to October 23 the Ailette Valley, and the sides and summits of the spurs projecting into it from the ridge, lay under an almost unbroken cloud of gas. During that time it was hardly possible for gunners to remove gas masks in order to drink or eat.

So far as guns could win a victory, French artillery had won it by October 22. Every tree near or on the Malmaison plateau had been shattered. The plateau had become a dreary expanse of monotonous mud, blown into craters, with a few twisted shreds of broken wire, here and there a mass of concrete, and broken, ragged ramparts which were all that remained of vast expenditures before and since the war in money, time, and labor on a once beautiful but now forbidding spot. The victory was complete. The whole of the Malmaison plateau was in Maistre's possession. Pershing observed the fighting from a favorable post some distance to the rear of the French front line, and went through shell-fire into the first and second lines of captured trenches. At Pétain's headquarters he was present when d'Espérey, the future successful general on the Macedonian front, gave a detailed report of the attack.

On October 25 bad news came from Italy. The Caporetto sector had been pierced by a German corps, and the Italians were preparing to abandon the Bainsizza plateau and the Carso, and retreat into the Fruilian plain. To relieve the situation it was only too probable that French and British troops would have to be railed through the Mt. Cenis tunnel and by the Riviera line to Lombardy. Therefore, in order to prevent Ludendorff from transferring more

troops to the Julian Alps and the Tyrol, it was necessary that Maistre should exploit the victory of Malmaison to the utmost, and that French and British, supported by the Belgian right wing, should once more vigorously assault Arnim's defensive zone in Flanders. Since October 23, Maistre had secured 11,157 prisoners and 180 guns, besides 222 trench-mortars and 720 machine-guns. As a crown to the victory at Verdun, Malmaison and its aftermath terminated the French offensive in 1917. Except in the last-named battles the French had, perhaps, won no successes on this front which quite justified their expenditure of men and munitions, but they had driven back the enemy in every engagement fought on a considerable scale. If the Allied offensives in 1917 had failed to accomplish the objects sought, the causes were beyond the control of Pétain and Haig, who could not have saved Russia from internecine war, nor from the wild schemes of German agents. Five days after the Germans evacuated the Chemin-des-Dames, Lenine and Trotzky effected their *coup d'état*, and Kerensky fled. The elements which had usurped power in Russia promptly decided for an "immediate democratic peace," so that Russia became thenceforth a negligible quantity to the Entente.

Before the French could hope to reach Laon they had still to reduce German lines on the plateau north of the Ailette, facing French positions along the Chemin-des-Dames, all of which was now in French hands. If the French could take this plateau the German center would be broken. From this highland the ground slopes downward to the north and does not begin to rise again until the frontier is approached. The French were fighting to regain control of the last portion of the second line in the defenses of Paris. They had been fighting to regain this territory ever since the beginning of the battle of the Aisne in 1914. If they could now take the plateau, the Germans in the St. Gobain Forest would be outflanked and would have to retire from a position which could not be carried by any frontal attack, because of its great natural strength. While the French had got a step nearer Laon a general engagement, and a very considerable one, would have to precede any considerable further push toward it.

In the spring of 1917, there had been grave temporary disorder in the French army. When Pétain took command the situation, so far as discipline was concerned, was more serious than at any time since the outbreak of the war. It was in part because of this that the Germans made their long and costly offensive at the Chemin-des-Dames, the reasons for which were obscure at the moment because no great military advantage seemed attainable and the world did not understand the conditions that existed in the French army. Happily under Pétain discipline was restored, and the German offensive beaten down exactly where it started. Pétain's success was evidence of the degree to which the French army had regained its moral strength. At Verdun, in Flanders, and now on the Aisne, French arms in a few months had won notable successes, taken large numbers of prisoners, and proved their superiority over the Germans. This was the real and permanent value of the French victory fought upon ground where Napoleon fought Blücher less successfully more than a century before. It was too soon to talk about a push to Laon, but it was fair to say that one of the main obstacles to such a push had been beaten down.

Late in October French forces in the Aisne region on a front of six miles captured important German positions and a few thousand prisoners, forced the Germans to abandon Monkey Mountain, east of Vauxaillon, the village and forest of Pinon, the village of Pargny-Filain, on the extreme east of the line, some fortified farms and other points of vantage. This drive brought Pétain's army within sight of Laon, the objective sought, which now was a scant eight miles distant. Large quantities of war-stores were abandoned by the Germans in their retreat, and additional guns and prisoners captured. The number of prisoners taken since the French drive began exceeded 12,000, more than 200 of whom were officers. Two thousand prisoners were bagged in one day. The rapidity of the drive was shown in the total number of guns the Germans were forced to leave behind them, which aggregated 120, among them several howitzers, not to mention several hundred small caliber pieces and machine-guns. Pétain's stroke had in-

flicted on Germany perhaps her greatest defeat of 1917. Demoralized by triphammer blows, she was abandoning guns in a retreat across the marshy Ailette valley, the Aisne and the Oise Canal. Fighting with the desperation of men who knew they were beaten, Germans gave way before the French wedge until it had been jammed for more than three miles

TRENCH GUN THAT PROPELS A WINGED FRENCH SHELL

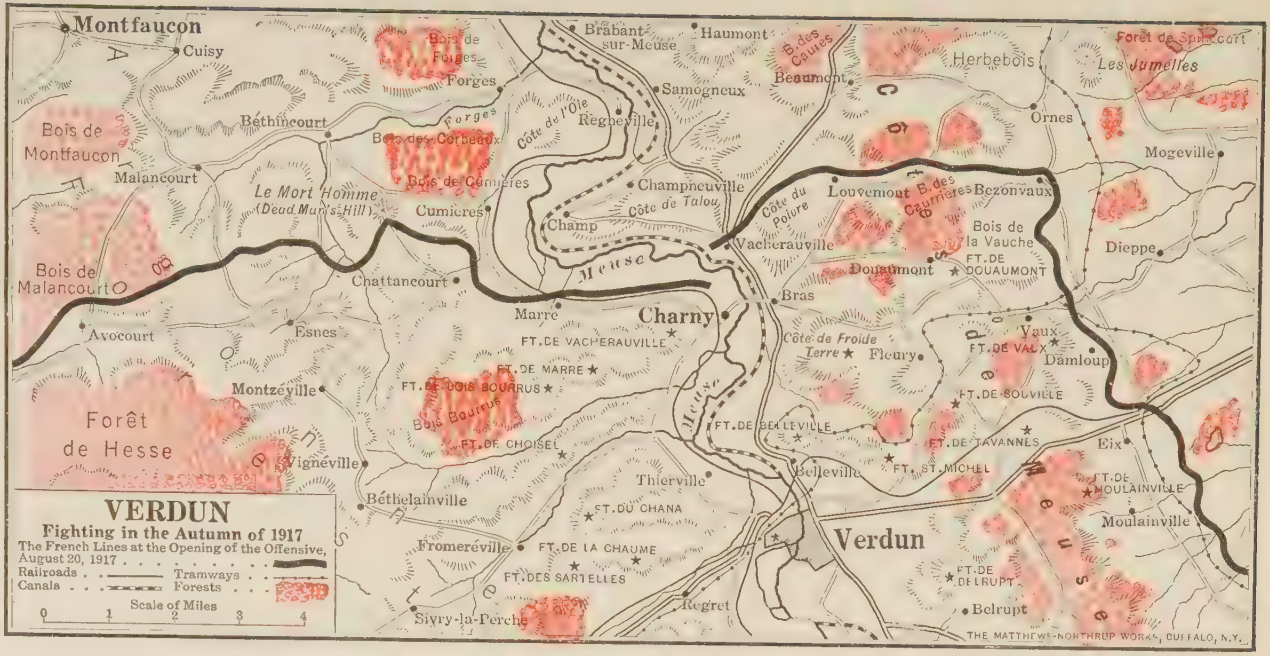
into the pivotal base of their line curving around the western extremity of the Chemin-des-Dames. The German losses in two days were estimated to be equivalent to three divisions, or approximately 45,000 men. In proportion to the size of the battle-front—seven miles—this was the heaviest loss Germany had sustained in a single series of military

operations since her disastrous retreat in the spring of 1917.

The French now dominated the entire Ailette Valley and their hold on the observatories practically rendered untenable the German lines along the northern edge of the Chemin-des-Dames, far to the east, all the way toward Craonne. Five days later began the German retreat along the hilly front of the Chemin-des-Dames. The Germans, tired of the terrible ordeal they had been forced to undergo from French artillery and infantry, seemed ready to fall back on Laon, which, with its network of railways, had been the quest of the French. Among the German prisoners taken were many immature and unseasoned youths of the class of 1918. Only dire necessity accounted for their appearance on the German line. In France the class of 1918 was still at instruction camps, and there had been thus far no occasion to send them to the trenches. The British were much better off for reserves even than the French, and soon the Americans, in ever-increasing numbers, fresh, vigorous, and eager, would take over a part of the French line. The Allies were not yet in possession of Lens, Laon and Roulers, but the business of killing Germans with drum- and barrage-fire, and rounding them up by thousands, was going on relentlessly. It had become imperative for the Germans to reinforce their line in the west, not only with boys of the Class of 1918, but with veterans discharged from hospitals and fit for service.

The immediate after-effect of the French success was a German retirement early in November along a fifteen-mile front to the Ailette. The best elements in the Crown Prince's army had lost the greater part of their effectives, and were compelled to go to the rear to reconstitute their diminished ranks. On the crest of the Chemin-des-Dames they had suffered daily and nightly an incessant enfilading fire from guns wrested from the Prussian Guards during the battle of Malmaison. They, accordingly, retired to the northern side of the Ailette.

With the approach of winter, a detachment of American infantrymen in the Verdun neighborhood was attacked in front-line trenches by a much superior force of Germans. Cut off from relief by heavy barrage in their rear they fought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Haumont
Samogneux
Béthincourt
Bois de Montfaucon
Bois des Corbeaux
Côte de l'Oie
Regneville
Malancourt
Le Mort Homme (Dead Man's Hill)
Bois de Cumières
Champneuville
Cumières
Côte de Talou
Champ
Meuse
Bois de Malancourt
Chattancourt
Marre
Charny
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Fromeréville
FT. DE LA CHAUME
FT. DES SARTELLES
Sivry-la-Perche
Regret
Côte du Poivre
Vacherauville
Louvemont
B. des Caurières
Bezonvaux
Bois de la Vauche
FT. DE DOUAUMONT
Douaumont
Bras
Côte de Froide Terre
Fleury
Vaux
FT. DE VAUX
Damloup
FT. DE SOUVILLE
FT. DE BELLEVILLE
FT. DE TAVANNES
Eix
Belleville
FT. ST. MICHEL
FT. DE MOULAINVILLE
Moulainville
Verdun
FT. DE DERUPT
Belrupt
Herbebois
Les Jumelles
Ornes
Mogeville
Dieppe
Côte de Talou
Côte de Romagne
Côte de Chatillon
Côte de Meuse
Côte de Heuse
VERDUN
Fighting in the Autumn of 1917
The French Lines at the Opening of the Offensive, August 20, 1917
Railroads
Tramways
Canals
Forests
Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

gallantly until overwhelmed by numbers. In the trenches the fighting was hand to hand, brief but fierce. Three Americans were killed and four wounded. The raid was carried out against members of the second American contingent, who had entered their trenches for training but had been in only a few days. Before dawn the Germans shelled vigorously the barbed-wire front of the trenches, and dropt high explosives of large caliber. A heavy artillery-fire was then directed at all adjacent territory, including the passage leading up to the trenches, thereby forming an effective barrage in the rear as well as front. Germans to the number of 210 rushed through breaches and wire-entanglements on each side of the salient, and after their barrage in the fore-field was lifted, went into the trenches where pistols, grenades, knives, and bayonets were used.

For many minutes there was confusion, the Germans stalking the Americans, and the Americans stalking the Germans. In one section an American private engaged two Germans with the bayonet and after the raid his body was found. Another American was killed by a blow on the head with a rifle butt from above. The raid had nothing unusual about it. It was such as was happening all along the line. There was reason for believing that the Germans were greatly surprized to find Americans in the trenches instead of French. While the skirmish was of infinitesimal significance, it brought uppermost to the public mind in this country a sobering realization of the task ahead of us. A few of our men, under the tuition of French officers, had now seen fighting in earnest. Those killed were the first of our dead in France. They were buried on November 4, with military honors at Bathlémont, French artillery men, infantry and sailors present with American infantry, an address by General Bordeaux, and three volleys fired over the grave. By the end of 1917 it was no longer a secret that American troops were fighting on that part of the battle-front facing the German Lorraine. That Pershing's troops were finishing their intensive training in trenches on "a quiet sector on the French front" had been announced as early as October 27. Simultaneously, the Germans had boasted of capturing some "North Americans" in the neighborhood

of the Meuse Canal. Since then scouting parties of Americans had come in contact with Germans, and small raids and artillery-duels had taken place with casualties on both sides.

This Lorraine front was the only one through which war could be carried into the heart of Germany. Thus far Germans at home had viewed the conflict from a distance, they had not been brought face to face with it in their homes, had not known what war had meant to Belgians and French. The German position in Lorraine gave command of the iron mines of the Basin de Briey, which furnished Germany with 80 per cent. of the steel she used in her armaments, and without which she could not have carried on the war. The prospect for the Americans in Lorraine was inviting because it had the approval of at least two of the foremost French strategists—Pétain, and the man who had fought in this territory, at the Grand Couronné, one of the bloodiest and most decisive battles of the war—Castelnau. American troops had engaged in the war for the purpose of whipping Germany. How could they better perform this work than by carrying the war into German territory on a front that had the approval of Pétain and Castelnau—the front of Lorraine? More than 42,000 dead Germans lay already buried there, the flower of the army of the Crown Prince of Bavaria. For twenty-eight days in August and September 1914, five French army corps under Castelnau here fought seven under the Crown Prince, in a great battle that had been comparatively ignored except in the *Bulletin des Armées*. The reason was that it occurred while the great German advance on Paris was going on, and reached its climax simultaneously with the beginning of the battle of the Marne, while its end came with the retreat of the Germans to the Aisne. Strange and inspiring, indeed, were the hopes raised by the thought that to Americans might eventually fall the happy destiny of redeeming for France her lost provinces.

The coming of a political crisis in Germany was foreshadowed early in the summer, when, among other evidences a statement was issued from the Imperial Bank

WINTER COMING TO THE VERDUN FRONT

showing that the bank's gold holdings had decreased 76,470,000 marks during the preceding week. Meanwhile, the exchange rate on the German mark had risen in Holland to 33.95 guilders. The decrease in gold holdings was obviously due to exports of gold made to neutral markets in order to check the decline in exchange. As far back as when the United States ceased to deal in drafts on Germany (in March, 1917), exchange on Berlin had depreciated 27 per cent. from normal parity. At Amsterdam, in the week that we declared war, the discount had

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RUINS OF A FRENCH HOSPITAL AFTER A GERMAN BOMBARDMENT

widened to 34⅜ per cent. and in June private cables from European neutral markets reported a depreciation of 47½ per cent. The Dutch rate, late in June, of 33.95 guilders per 100 German marks, worked out as a discount of 42¾ per cent., showing a partial recovery in consequence of the gold exports from Berlin.

When on July 9 the Kaiser arranged to hold a Crown Council, it was generally understood that a decision of momentous issues was about to be made. In fact, all doubt as to the extreme gravity of the political situation in Ger-

many was dissolved by plain statements made in some of the German papers. The *Weser Zeitung,* of Bremen, said the question of the Chancellor's political existence was at stake, but "far graver issues" had been raised by a peace-speech from Herr Erzberger in the Reichstag, and by the strong demand that had grown up for electoral reforms in Germany which would wipe out the Junker influence in the Reichstag. Bethmann-Hollweg favored electoral reform. His "woe to the statesman" speech of six months before was not yet forgotten. The political turmoil finally culminated in his resignation, and the installation in his place of Dr. George Michaelis, Prussian Under-Secretary of Finance and Food Controller.

The deposed Chancellor was a weak man thrown upon iron times. He had become the sport of powers too weighty for him. No enemy could have written a deadlier memorial for him than he himself did in his "scrap of paper" phrase, and in his standing up in the Reichstag to confess in the face of all the world that Germany was beginning the war by trampling upon her treaty with Belgium and defying the laws of nations. What stood out above his humiliation was proof that the German people were more and more asserting their right to be masters of their own destiny, and were with ever greater eagerness turning their eyes toward peace. Michaelis lasted until the end of October, when it was announced that Count George F. von Hertling, the Bavarian Prime Minister, had been appointed Chancellor. Nobody in Germany was thought to entertain more bitter hatred toward England than Count Hertling. He had been one of the chief advocates of unrestricted *U*-boat warfare, and believed in annexation. "We have won all we want," he said in February, 1917. "From Germany's point of view, there is no reason why the war should continue."[6]

[6] Principal Sources: The London *Times'* "History of the War," The *Daily Chronicle, The Fortnightly Review,* London; The *Times,* The *Tribune,* New York; Associated Press and United Press dispatches, The *Evening Post* (New York).

A CHURCH IN ARTOIS CONVERTED INTO A HOSPITAL

III

ZONNEBEKE AND PASSCHENDAELE RIDGES

July 31, 1917—October 12, 1917

ON July 31 an Allied assault, for which big guns had been preparing for three weeks, was begun along a front of about twenty miles, from the region of Dixmude south of Ypres and around Warneton on the Menin road toward Lille. Starting with the first peep of day the attack, which was carried out jointly by French and British troops—the French holding the line north of Boesinghe and the British, the one between that town and Warneton—at the end of the day's fighting had been well carried out. The French had two lines of captured German trenches, and Haig's men three lines, in addition to ten or more towns and villages and over 3,500 German prisoners. Could the British get to Menin and seize the bridgehead, the road to Lille would now be open, but the Teutons had massed great numbers of guns and numerous divisions of fresh men to hold back the onslaught. At some points so determined were the attacking forces that frequently the British passed the objectives which had been assigned for their capture, pushed on beyond and took terrain that had not been counted on. The casualties of both British and French were relatively slight, considering the intensity of the fighting, but the Germans, in addition to men lost as prisoners, suffered heavily in killed and wounded. A majority of the positions taken by the Allies had been in possession of the Germans ever since they had invaded Belgium in 1914. The French attack, which resulted in the capture of Steenstraete, was pushed on beyond that town and penetrated the German lines to a depth of nearly two and a half miles. The British carried their deepest wedge to a depth of two miles.

A torrential rainfall, and the resultant turning of the

battlefield into a veritable quagmire, almost halted the great offensive the next day. For the most part the day was spent by the British and French in consolidating positions won, or in beating strong German counter-attacks. At two points near Ypres the Germans, using masses of men, were successful against the British, but this advantage was offset in the Zillebeke and Yser Canal sectors, where the British and French acting together advanced their lines. The losses of the Teutons had thus far been heavy, the ground at various points being covered with their dead. Some of the killed were schoolboys and seemingly unfitted physically for the arduous trials soldiers had to undergo. In addition the British alone had taken more than 5,000 prisoners—4,000 of them on the Yser salient. While the rain and the morass thus served to hold the Allied forces in leash, they were not effective in keeping the Germans from throwing counter-attacks with large forces of men against several newly won sectors of the front held by the British and French, nor in bringing about a cessation of the violent artillery-duel along the entire line. Crown Prince Rupprecht concentrated the strongest of his counter-offensive operations on an attempt to regain lost ground, but his efforts went for naught, British artillery- and infantry-fire raking advancing forces, putting an end to attacks and adding materially to the already heavy casualties the Germans had suffered.

The commander of the German Fourth Army was no despicable antagonist for the British. He had suffered a sharp defeat at Messines; but he had the type of mind which reacts against failure, and, as he had done a year before on the Somme, so now he adapted his defense to the British mode of attack. In Flanders the nature of the ground did not permit of a second Siegfried line. Deep dugouts and concrete-lined trenches were impossible because of a waterlogged soil, and he was compelled to find new tactics. Von Arnim's solution was what were known as "pill-boxes," already used at Messines. These were small concrete forts, sited among the ruins of a farm or in some derelict piece of woodland, often raised only a yard or two above the ground, and bristling with machine-guns, with entrance at

Battle of the
FLEMISH RIDGES
Highways
Roads
Canals
Forests
Railroads
Tramways
Scale of Miles
0 ½ 1 2
Nachtegaal
Houthulst Forest
Stadenberg
Bultehoek
Vyfwegen
Stadendreef
Schaap Baillie
Veldhoek
Jansbeek
Mangelaare
Koekuit
Poelcappelle Sta.
Westroosebeek
Bixschoote
Spriet
Steenstraat
Wydendreft
Poelcappelle
Lizerne
Zuydschoote
Het Sas
Langemarck
Wallemolen
Goudberg
Mosselmarkt
Pilkem
Koorselaere
Passchendaele
Roesinghe
Sta.
Winnipeg
St. Julien
B E L G I U M
Gravenstafel
Eiverdinghe
Fortuin
Nieuwemolen
Zevenkote
Broodseinde
Wieltje
Zonnebeke
Brielen
Noordhofwyk
St. Jean
Frezenberg
Verloren Hoek
Pottenhoek
Vlamertinghe
Potijze
Ypres
Westhoek
Zwaanhoek
Reutel
Becelaere
Sta.
Hooge
Zillebeke L.
Veldhoek
Zillebeke
Gheluvelt
Mt. Sorrel
Verbranden Molen
Zwarteleen
Dickebusch
Kruisstraathoek
Klein Zillebeke
Oude Kruiseik
Dickebusch L.
Voormezeele
The Bluff
Kruiseik
Oosthoek
Zandvoorde
St. Eloi
Vierstraat
Hollebeke
Kasteelhoek
Kortewilde
Tenbrielen
Oosttaverne
Houthem
Wytschaete
Stromkebrug
Kemmel
Wambeke
Korentje
Mt. Kemmel
Messines Ridge
Gapaard
Garde-Dieu
Messines
Wulverghem
Comines
Douve
Warneton
Bas-Warneton
Le Rossignol
Neuve-Eglise
La Hutte
La Basse Ville
Warneton
Sud-et-Bas
FRANCE
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.

of "Siegfried" and "Wotan" lines, with their various support systems of trench defenses. The "Siegfried line" represented that portion of the "Hindenburg line" which lay between Quéant and St. Quentin. Lille, toward which progress had now been made, was the chief of a little group of three cities in which, prior to the war, centered France's great textile industries. It formerly had a population of 218,000. Its two sister-cities, Roubaix and Tourcoing, were together the homes of about an equal number of persons. Tourcoing and Roubaix stand on rising ground from four

A MINE CRATER ON THE WESTERN FRONT

When opposing forces were firmly entrenched in a deadlock, often the only way out was a mine, which was dug stealthily as far beneath the surface of the earth as possible, a tunnel running out under the enemy trench, and then a tremendous charge would be exploded. The result to the enemy was like the bursting of a pent-up volcano directly beneath their feet, without the slightest warning, with death and destruction in its train

to six miles northwest of Lille, the only high land left in front of the British. To their right, however, Lille was protected by a ridge which stood between it and Armentières, the town where the right wing of the attacking British army rested.

The victory at Messines was the Allied answer to Hindenburg's assurance to the German people that the British offensive on the West Front had been brought to a standstill. The German retreat had failed to do what it was intended to do: it had failed to postpone the Allied offensive of 1917.

Hardly had the Germans established themselves in their straightened line than the British attacked them vigorously. The two offensives were successful as a local operation, in which ground was gained and large numbers of prisoners captured, but disappointing in the larger strategical sense. Hindenburg had temporarily stopt the movement, but his report gave an unwarranted impression that the Allied offensive of 1917 had exhausted itself. The Allies had far-reaching plans. Their operations displayed an energy which must have been disheartening to Germany, and British armies were becoming more formidable every month. They had learned to break German lines, however strong, at a minimum cost to themselves. It was the repetition of this process which Germany dreaded, for the morale of no army could be maintained indefinitely under such punishment.

General Pershing's arrival in England coincided with this British success. It was a coincidence ominous in its suggestiveness to Berlin. Allied superiority on the West Front in numbers and munitions already had made it possible apparently to crush almost any portion of the German line chosen for attack. That superiority would now increase in spite of Germany's efforts to counterbalance it. In fact, Allied preponderance was becoming more and more decisive as Germany's reserves in men were being used up. The war was to be decided on the Western Front because that front was the most accessible to the Americans and the British. The Allies could put more men in the field in France than Germany could ever hope to send there and keep there. The Allied stock of munitions was also much ampler. In view of these relative advantages and disadvantages, the war had now become largely a test of German endurance. Could Germany's soldiers stand up for two years longer under blows like these?

In this battle the Second British Army was fortunate in its leader. Sir Herbert Plumer, now sixty years of age, had in a high degree the traditional virtues of the British soldier, and especially had county line-regiments which had always been the backbone of the army. He had fought with his regiment in the Sudan in 1884; he had served in the Matabele rebellion; in the South-African War he had con-

tributed to the relief of Mafeking, had taken Pietersburg, hunted DeWet in Cape Colony, and at the second battle of Ypres he had turned the tide. During months of camparative inaction he had been a warden of the Flanders marshes. For a year and more Plumer had been making ready for the offensive in which he was now playing the chief part. In a single day's fighting he had advanced two and a half miles on a front of nearly ten; he had wiped out the German salient and carried also its chord; he had stormed positions on heights which the enemy regarded as impregnable; his losses were extraordinarily small, and he had taken 7,200 prisoners, 67 guns, 94 trench-mortars, and 294 machine-guns. The battle of Messines belonged in history with Nivelle's victories at Verdun in the winter of 1916.

IN A WESTERN TRENCH
British "Tommies" are watching German prisoners as they move along in the trench

Not satisfied with the capture of the ridge, Haig's men continued here and there to dig further into the territory held by the Germans. Thrusts were made south and east of Messines, in both of which appreciable gains were made, especially in the neighborhood of La Poterie farm. Nearly two miles of trenches were stormed and occupied on June 12 and, in addition, the small village of Gaspard, directly east of Messines, was captured. East and south of Messines fresh advances by Haig's forces and the capture of important first-line positions were reported. The new advances in the neighborhood of Gaspard, which lies directly east of Messines, between the River Lys and St. Yves and east of the Ploegseert Wood, formed a direct menace from both north and south to the important town of Warneton and the road leading toward Comines.

Near Lens on June 20 the Canadians, in an assault on a position held by the Germans which was barring the way to the coal city, had routed out the defenders, captured trenches and incorporated them in the British lines. The Germans endeavored to regain the lost terrain, but were beaten off. In the last week of June bad weather brought the operations of Haig's army almost to a standstill except for bombardments in which the Germans reciprocated, certain patrol reconnaissances, and aerial operations. A slow but sure encirclement of Lens was going on. Important vantage points west and southwest of the town had been captured weeks before. A fresh blow at the German lines was the occupation of the village of La Coulotte, situated a mile to the south. With British forces virtually enveloping the town, except in the east, the Germans had now to cease mining coal in the immediate region of Lens.

By July 28 negotiations were in progress for the consolidation of American and British munition interests, which would add to the resources of the Allies and effect material economies in purchasing. Dr. Addison, the British Minister of Munitions, said that 1,500,000 tons of material for his department were shipped monthly from the United States and Canada. Of this amount the total loss from the submarines since the ruthless warfare began had reached only 5.9 per cent. Up to March, 1917, the production of explosives

in England had quadrupled in a year; the increase over March, 1915, was 28 to 1. More than 2,000 miles of railway-track had been laid down back of the fighting-front, mostly with track pulled up in England, Canada, and Australia. Nearly a thousand new locomotives were at work. The annual production of steel had been raised from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons, and would eventually reach 12,000,000 tons. In six months a million and a half steel helmets had been distributed. Such a statement made it possible to understand the extent to which the Allies this year were becoming masters of the offensive in the west. By July 1 there was hardly a mile of front from the Belgian coast to St. Quentin where the British guns were not hurling high explosives into the German trenches and where British soldiers were not prepared to advance. The fighting front had grown from twenty miles to a hundred, and there were three hundred thousand veterans engaged, compared with a mere hundred a year before.

Artillery-fire on the Belgian coast in the second week of July culminated in an attack by the Germans against British positions on the Nieuport front. The German gain extended over a front of 1,400 yards to a depth of 600. Big guns completely leveled British defenses in the dunes sector and destroyed bridges and so cut them off from relief. This success was regarded in London as an incident, all the more unexpected because of the unbroken progress made by the British Army for two years. There was complete confidence, however, that the setback was temporary, but it was regarded as further evidence that the Germans would fight to the last man for the retention of the Belgian coast and the protection of their submarine-bases there. This success was especially valuable to the Germans at the moment as a set-off to defeats in Galicia and as a possible aid in solving their internal troubles. The Germans put their utmost artillery-power into the attack, reinforcing batteries of heavy navy-guns which they had long had in this district. The bombardment was of unexpected violence. The reverberation of the guns was heard plainly on heights around London. Most of the King's Royal Rifles and Northamptonshires fell in this fighting between Lombaertzdye and the sea. They

died almost to the last man. Scarcely any of the meager group of survivors came out unwounded. All that did emerge were men who swam the Yser. The battlefield was a maelstrom of smoke, steel, flying sand and débris. The German version declared that 1,250 British prisoners were taken, a figure which probably included killed and wounded.[2]

[2] Principal Sources: The London *Times'* "History of the War," The *Sun*, The *Tribune*, The *Times*, New York; Associated Press dispatches, "Nelson's History of the War" by John Buchan.

ON THE FLOODED YSER, SOUTH OF NIEUPORT

II

ON THE CHEMIN-DES-DAMES AND AT VERDUN—AMERICANS AT THE FRONT

July 9, 1917—November 3, 1917

THE watchword of the French troops at Verdun in 1916 —*"Ils ne passeront pas"*—applied equally well to a movement in the Champagne in 1917 when, on July 20, the Germans in great force made what was declared to be almost their fortieth attempt to obtain possession of the famous Chemin-des-Dames. It was perhaps the biggest offensive movement they had made since Verdun, so far as artillery was concerned, but it proved a failure. Four o'clock was striking when a terrific bombardment was opened along a front extending from just west of Cerny to Berry-au-Bac. Front lines and rear positions and all roads leading thereto were deluged with shells, large, small, and asphyxiating gas. The greatest concentrations advanced between Hurtebise and the Casemates plateau and between Casemates and the Californie plateaux, where the Germans hoped to recover Craonne. Rolling along the crest and over it, were dense clouds of black, brown, gray, and white smoke from tens of thousands of shells.

The Prussian Guards with several other divisions faced the French, while fresh troops were hurried across the Ailette from the north. French guns answered shot for shot, Where German reinforcements were observed they poured a hurricane of projectiles directly into them, creating confusion and causing heavy losses. Rifle- and machine-gun fire began to crackle, trench-mortars hurled torpedoes and rifle-grenadiers opened a barrage fire. German shock units as usual led the way, followed by waves of ordinary infantry. From Hurtebise to Casemate Plateau the attacking forces soon melted to a thin line under withering French fire. Those still able to do so retreated hurriedly to their

own line, which meanwhile came under an inferno of French shell-fire. In the same period from Casemate to Californie plateau other German troops were suffering heavily under similar conditions. Several times they gained small portions of the French front, but nowhere did they reach the crest itself. Aviators were busy. Sometimes the sky was almost covered with smoke from bursting shrapnel. It was a bad day for an attack because the clearness of the air made every movement, even in the narrow communicating trenches visible to airmen and observers in kite-balloons. The gain of a few hundred yards of a front-line trench, which was all that remained in German hands, was small compensation for fierce fighting in the forty attacks of ten weeks, during which conservative estimates placed the German losses near the Chemin-des-Dames at six figures.

G. H. Perris[3] sought to piece together some sort of explanation of the savage obstinacy of the German efforts to win back the Chemin-des-Dames. The French line lost hardly anything after some forty attacks. Evidently the line of observatories was of great importance so long as it was thought necessary to hold the Ailette Valley, but men wondered what magic there was in the Ailette Valley that the last German reserves should be sacrificed in an effort to keep it. Military writers who likened the effort to Verdun diagnosed it as one of the most considerable military operations of the year. As the world had been very slow in waking up to the real meaning of Verdun, so was it slower in understanding how nearly the Germans succeeded at Verdun.

Of the Chemin-des-Dames conflict one could say that it opened with no such success as marked the first furious onrush of the Germans on Verdun in February 1916. While in some places the Germans advanced rods, in others they were firmly held; and they took few prisoners or guns, while at Verdun they advanced more than four miles, taking 40,000 prisoners and more than one hundred guns in three days. The German General Staff spent men and blood without hesitation, not because positions were of great value, or because a successful retaking of Craonne

[3] Correspondent of The *Daily Chronicle* (London) and The *Times* (New York).

would materially have changed the military and strategic situation; it was because they were seeking, as they sought at Verdun, to crush the spirit of France.

Russia had now been eliminated and the United States was unable to send troops in large numbers to the front, and could not send them in sufficient numbers until the next year. English man-power had reached its maximum and French man-power was declining. For another eight months

GAS MASKS
It is not nose-bags filled with oats that the horses have on, but protectors against poison gas

the battle on the Western Front had to be fought on the Allied side by French and British. If either weakened, the whole front would be lost. So the Germans, just as at Verdun and for the same reason, were using up the best of their reserves in a desperate and terrific effort to batter in the heart of France. The supreme test of energy and endurance was going on along the Chemin-des-Dames. The

Germans were seeking for a decision over France as Napoleon, in the closing hours of Waterloo, sought to have a decision with the British when he put in the Old Guard. If the Germans could have beaten France to her knees at this time, they might conceivably have won the war. The struggle on the Chemin-des-Dames was a beginning, however, rather than an ending, but it was the real Hindenburg offensive about which so much had been written in the early spring—the effort for which the Germans had been gathering strength, the "victory" for which Hindenburg made his retreat. Had it succeeded perhaps they could have dictated peace. The attention of the Entente world at that time was fixt mainly on Russia, where disappointing events for the Allies were taking place. But the real danger-point was in France, and once more the post of honor and danger in the war had come to the French, for the battle of the Chemin-des-Dames took on an importance almost comparable to the battles of the Marne and Verdun. We saw there what seemed to be a final German bid for a decision in the west, but the French surpassed their Verdun performance in 1916, while the German performance on the Chemin-des-Dames was beneath what they did at Verdun.

Furious attacks were made by the Germans at Verdun also in this first week of July 1917 against that slaughter-pen called Hill 304. No German historian is likely ever to permit the outside world to know how many lives their many futile efforts to take this hill had cost the German people. Some progress was made by them on the northern slope, but the crest remained in the hands of the French. For Hill 304 the Germans had struggled for months before the battle of the Somme sounded the requiem of the battle of Verdun. Their attacks now were all in vain. At no place were they able to make headway. An even more disastrous defeat was administered to them further west along the Chemin-des-Dames. Here a major attack was delivered with all the force of infantry and artillery which had characterized the previous year's attacks at Verdun. The French, however, held all the advantage of positions.

The Chemin-des-Dames runs east and west along a crest

that completely overlooks and commands the Ailette immediately north. The German attack was against this ridge, infantry moving out from the cover of the valley and up the slopes. Not one German soldier reached the French lines, each attack being smothered by artillery- and machine-gun fire before it could really get under way. Finally the Germans, after several attacks, desisted, and a moderate artillery-fire only was maintained, infantry taking no part. It was a distinct defeat in what was very nearly a major engagement. French troops won a smashing victory on August 20 on a front of eleven miles north of Verdun. The advance, which was preceded by heavy artillery-fire lasting three days, reached at some points a depth of over a mile and a quarter. The number of unwounded Germans taken exceeded 4,000. The French attacked simultaneously on both banks of the Meuse and everywhere carried their objectives. On the left or west bank of the river the attackers gained Avocourt Wood, the summits of Dead Man Hill, and the Corbeaux and Cumières woods.

Once more the magic word "Verdun" thrilled the heart of Paris. "Victory at Verdun" was the headline of every newspaper in the city, the cry on every lip—Verdun, the city of destiny, whose name had been branded on the French soul by a six-months' tragedy of fear and hope. "A kilometer gained at Verdun, and 1,000 prisoners captured is worth more than an advance of twenty kilometers elsewhere and the surrender of a whole German army corps," said a great French general in the previous December, "both for its stimulating effect in France and the corresponding depression of German morale. Rightly or wrongly, Verdun has become a symbol, the gage of battle, the body of Patroclus." Military experts might talk of "the established equilibrium" and "the impregnable German line," but Bismarck knew better when he said it was the imponderable that counted in war—the evasive moral factor that plays havoc with a general's plans and sets his calculations at naught. German newspapers might stifle news of American preparations; they might deny British gains in Flanders, belittle the Italian successes, and blind their

readers' eyes to recalling how even Napoleon had found progress in Russia more fatal than death; but a French victory at Verdun they could not hide. The new battle of Verdun emphasized the fact that it had been no isolated stroke, when Nivelle late in 1916 reconquered a position which the Crown Prince had sacrificed half-a-million lives to win, but the beginning of a substantial offensive, a new echo of the Allied thunderbolts in Flanders. When French and British guns had resumed their hammering of the German line from the sea to St. Quentin, news of Verdun kindled to a flame the spirit of the waiting infantry and unnerved their battered opponents, keyed up only by desperation to resistance.

Dead Man Hill was aptly named. From where the former French line ran—that is, half-way down its slopes up to the summit—every inch of the ground on August 24 was soaked with the blood of German defenders. The place had been made a shambles. Not a blade of grass or a vestige of vegetation marked the awful scene. French victory at Dead Man Hill became a new monument to French artillery. To render Dead Man Hill "impregnable" the Germans had constructed there three tunnels. One, named the "Crown Prince," traversed the hill; another, named "Bismarck," connected the two summits, and a third, "Corbeaux," ran under Goose Hill. French 400-millimeter shells pierced each tunnel. In the Crown Prince tunnel alone were found the bodies of more than a hundred dead Germans, the victims of a single shell. When the French first swarmed over it they took 700 German prisoners from the same gallery. In Corbeaux tunnel the French took an entire German regimental staff with its maps, papers, and material. One thing General Pershing, who witnessed this assault, particularly emphasized, was the work done by the new French guns and he spoke about it to General Corvisart, whose troops made one of the assaults. Pershing and Corvisart were old friends. They were together in Manchuria.[4]

Everywhere, from the Alps to the sea, the tide had turned. One by one places that had been seized by German arms had yielded to the Allied advance. This latest Verdun

[4] Henry Wood, United Press correspondent.

operation was another of those quick, swift blows designed to disorganize German troops, inflict heavy losses and obtain vantage points of local importance. Concentration, terrific artillery-attack, alternating blows—now at Ypres, now at Lens, now near St. Quentin, now along the Chemin-des-Dames, and now on the heights of the Meuse above Verdun—this was Allied strategy as it unfolded itself, a constant demonstration of the immediate local superiority of the

TRENCHES BEFORE VERDUN

Allies and an almost daily revelation of decline in the morale of the German army. With the recapture of Dead Man Hill, the mind reverted to the last desperate struggle of March 1916, when the Germans got south on the east bank, took Douaumont, both the town and the fort, and approached Vaux, when all their lines were being swept by the flanking fire of the French across the river on Dead Man Hill.

After that the Germans began an attack on the left bank of the Meuse, which for days and days continued

to be one of the most desperate struggles in the war. Slowly they pushed across the Forges brook, took Malancourt, Haucourt, and Béthincourt, pushed in between Dead Man Hill and Hill 304, and on April 9 made the last of their great sweeping attacks. Thereafter Verdun became a pounding operation. The French had bettered their positions materially, and had deprived the Germans of their last direct sight of the ruined city from the Talon Hill. There was no ground left in their possession from which the twin towers of the cathedral rising above the fortress could be seen. Probably not less than a million men had been killed, wounded, or captured on this field since the war began. No single fortress in human history had been valued so highly alike by defender and attacker. The whole world rejoiced that, in the first month of the fourth year of the war, French spirit was still unbroken, that French soldiers had retaken the last and uppermost outpost of Verdun. When the Germans were telling the world that France was exhausted and her spirit broken, the world saw French troops sweeping along the Meuse to new victories.

The Chemin-des-Dames battle ranked among important engagements, because it gave another instance of the capacity of the French to rally in the face of momentary depression. It had been intended not only to break the spirit of France, but to use up French effectives, and prevent them from being employed either in Flanders or Lorraine. The French answer was threefold, a terrific defeat of the Germans, participation with the British in a successful advance about Ypres, and that superb offensive at Verdun, which wrote "Finis" to the whole Verdun chapter. The moral effect was even greater than the material. The French now felt that they could beat the Germans on their own chosen battle-ground and force them out of subterranean lairs into open fields. With the French capture of the Chemin-des-Dames plateau, a fitting equal to the Messines Ridge operation, German invincibility had become a legend of the past. Neither the French nor the British had anything now to fear from Hindenburg or from any other German commander whose claim of invulnerability for Germany's "iron wall"

had been proved an empty boast. The Allies had only to go on as they had begun, with a succession of continuous alternating blows, the British striking one day and the French another, and Hindenburg's line, already bent, would be broken. Success at Craonne, however, had been costly to France, so costly in fact that Nivelle was removed from his command, and Pétain, the original victor of Verdun, was appointed in his place.

Fighting at Verdun still went on in September, until the French recovered all the ground that was important or useful. What the Germans could not do at the Chemin-des-Dames in June, the French did on the Meuse, until Verdun had become like the Marne, another battle of arrest. Had the Germans won at Verdun, the decision at the Marne would have been abolished, but now the absolute character of German defeat was established. Violent attacks were made by the Crown Prince as late as September 24, but were checked with heavy losses.

By September 23, near this battlefield and merging into the fighting lines, were encamped, with a French army, some American troops, far removed from the rest of their compatriots. Here, for the first time, the Stars and Stripes was seen flying over a field camp of American soldiers. Some of them had been in a zone covered by German guns, and already two of their number had been wounded, a fact of which they were described as "being exceedingly proud."

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A SCENE IN DEVASTATED FRANCE

While Allied troops were consolidating positions won in Flanders, Pétain struck a blow against the German line northeast of Soissons on October 23, and made some of the most important gains of terrain since the French threw back the army of the Crown Prince at Verdun. The stroke was made over a front of about six miles, from east of Vauxaillon to Pargny-Filain. Under rain and generally unfavorable weather, the French pushed forward all along the line, aided by aviators, who, flying over German positions at an altitude of only about 150 feet, used their machine-guns. The German line at one point was penetrated to a depth of two and a fifth miles. Numerous important positions fell into the hands of Pétain's men, and more than 7,500 Germans, with war material, and 25 heavy and field-guns were captured. The greatest depth of the drive was in the center of the line, where the village of Chavignon was captured and the enemy fled pell-mell. Some of the best troops in the army of the Crown Prince were engaged, but their efforts were unavailing under the enthusiasm of the French to win positions which would enable them to press on later toward Laon. For about a week French artillery had been hurling tons of steel into the German line in preparation for the drive.

The attack which began nearly an hour before dawn took three main lines. Striking out from both sides of the mill of Laffaux toward Allemant village, the French had to deal with the Fourteenth Division—Westphalian troops who had suffered heavily in 1916 in the fighting before Verdun. The largest proportion of prisoners was captured in this sector, where the turning-point of the Hindenburg defense system was smashed in and Allemant occupied. The center of the assault lay northward from the Mennejean farm across the Laon high road. The most important sector of all was on the French right, extending from La Royère farm to Malmaison Fort, the capture of which was the great event of a brilliant day. The German command lost much, but not everything. For several months it had used lavishly its human material in the hope of tightening its hold upon what remained to it of this important barrier —the southern corner of the Hindenburg line. The fort

Haig east of Broodseinde. With apparent ease the Frenchmen crossed the flooded Broenbeek and Jansbeek Rivers and captured the villages of St. Jean-de-Manfelare and Veldhoek, together with numerous blockhouses, and made prisoners of several hundred Germans. The advance of the French was over a front of more than a mile and a half, and they penetrated the German line to a depth of one and a quarter miles. The movement was a pivoting one and as a result virtually all the observatories dominating the vast Flanders plain were now in the hands of the Allies.

Haig's principal offensive centered on such portions of the

GERMAN RAILWAY DESTROYED ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Passchendaele-Gheluvelt ridge as were still held by the Germans, being directed eastward from Poelcapelle, which was captured, and northeastward from Broodseinde toward Passchendaele, the ultimate objective still being the Ostend-Lille road. Taken as a whole, the joint operation made more apparent the crowning desire of the Allies in this region—the forcing back of the Germans to points where their evacuation of Ostend and Zebrugge, naval- and submarine-bases on the North Sea, would become necessary. At several points Haig's advance was sharply contested by the Germans, particularly north of Broodseinde, the nearest approach to the railroad-line and near the Polderhoek Château. Nowhere,

however, were the Germans able to stay the advance, except near the Château, where the terrific fire of their machine-guns momentarily forced the British to give ground. Later, the troops re-alined and the successful push continued.

One of the most startling operations of the war was this attack. Coming so quickly after another major attack, with an artillery preparation of only brief duration, and following a heavy rainfall which left all the ground over which the advance was made a heavy bog, heavily dotted with miniature lakes formed by shell-craters, it was entirely unlooked for and unusually successful. The operation was a brilliant success. The French, with probably not more than two divisions and possibly only one, held a small section of the line from Draibank to Wydendreft, on the British left. The French and British struck together, the French moving north toward the forest of Houthulst, the British, between Wydendreft and Roudel, moving east toward what little of the Passchendaele Ridge remained to be conquered. The French, fighting their way through mud and water, managed to cross several small streams which lay between Houthulst and the Yser Canal, and to reach the southern edge of the forest. The British, pushing ahead on the French left, bit even deeper into the German positions and moved up along the railroad from Ypres to Staden. The village of Poelcappelle was occupied and passed. To the south the British action was directed against the Passchendaele Ridge. Here the success was almost complete, a new line being established within a stone's throw of Passchendaele. Further south the British already held the ridge. North of Gheluvelt and east of Broodseinde the British pushed down the eastern slopes of the ridge to the plain, driving the Germans from all positions of vantage. The first step in the battle of Flanders, the occupation of the entire Messines-Passchendaele Ridge, was now practically completed. The second step was to drive the Germans across the plain. On effecting the latter hung the completion of British success in Flanders.

On the twelfth of October, for the first time since he started his Flanders offensive, Haig had for a time to cease operations. It was not German guns that stopt him, but a more than usually heavy rainfall, which turned an already

swampy region, over which men were supposed to pass, into a veritable quagmire from which they could not untrack themselves. In the early hours of the morning of October 12, a drive had been started which extended from near the Houtholst Wood, to below the Ypres-Menin road, where at several points the British gained ground over fronts ranging up to a thousand yards, but here rain intervened and fighting ceased. During the forward movement over a six-mile front, the British had captured in the aggregate about six hundred prisoners, the struggle being particularly bitter to the north of Poelcappelle and around Passchendaele. In the latter region the Germans apparently massed their strongest forces, hopeful of being able to check a further press forward by the British toward the Ostend-Lille railroad.

The capture on November 5 of Passchendaele, dominating Roulers, gave the Allied forces a firm footing on a series of great spurs extending from Gheluvelt, on the south, and marked a triumph in the long struggle to secure higher ground. The Allies had the advantage of position in the salient and relegated the enemy to lower levels. For days the enemy had been rushing up guns and new formations of troops to insure his hold on this position. British forces advanced well beyond the ruined village, overcoming fortified enemy shell-holes and concrete strong points in advance and capturing machine-gun positions. The advance placed the apex of the salient in dangerous proximity to Roulers, the fall of which would have cut Germany's communication from her submarine-bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge with the south.

The last stages of this new battle of Ypres were probably the muddiest combats ever known in the history of war. It rained incessantly—sometimes clearing to a drizzle or a Scotch mist, but relapsing into a downpour on any day fixt for British attack. The great struggle, at least strategically, was a British failure; the British did not come within measurable distance of their major purpose, and that owing to no fault of generalship or fighting virtue, but through the inclemency of the weather in a terrain where weather was all in all. They had looked for a normal August but did not get it. The sea of mud which lapped around the salient was the true

defense of the enemy. Consequently the battle, which might have had a profound strategic significance, became merely an episode in the war of attrition, a repetition of the Somme tactics, altho conspicuously less successful and considerably more costly than the fighting of 1916. Since July 31 the British had taken 24,965 prisoners, 74 guns, 941 machine-guns, and 138 trench-mortars. They had drawn in seventy-eight German divisions, of which eighteen had been engaged a second or third time. But, to set against this, their own losses had been severe, and the enemy had now a big reservoir for reinforcements. Already forty fresh divisions had been transferred from the Russian Front, apart from drafts of men to replace losses in other units.[11]

[11] Principal Sources: The Berlin *Vossische Zeitung;* The *World,* The *Tribune,* The *Times,* New York; Associated Press and United Press dispatches, The New York *Times'* "Current History Magazine," "Nelson's History of the War" by John Buchan.

IV

BYNG'S THWARTED THRUST AT CAMBRAI—HELP FROM AMERICAN ENGINEERS

November 21, 1917—December 13, 1917

ON November 21, when the Entente world had by turns been thrilled by British success on the Passchendaele Ridge, only to be dejected by anarchy in Russia and severe defeat for the Italians on their northeastern frontier, with Venice in real peril, word suddenly came that the great Hindenburg defense line east of Arras, upon which the German commander-in-chief had built hopes of holding the British from making inroads into the open territory beyond had been smashed, and that the task to all appearances had been an easy one. Attacking over a front of thirty-two miles, extending from the Scarpe River to St. Quentin, Haig, with English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh troops, had made one of the most rapid and spectacular drives of the war, catching the Germans by surprize, capturing numerous positions which were considered impregnable and taking in addition some thousands of prisoners and numerous guns.

The apex of the offensive was centered on Cambrai, an important railway junction, between Arras and St. Quentin, and when Marcoing, Anneux, Graincourt and Noyelles were taken the victorious troops found themselves only about four miles from Cambrai, or well within gun range of the city, whence railroad lines and roadways branch out toward all points of the compass. The drive was begun without the usual artillery prelude, but with tanks, which made their way through wire-entanglements and pushed into German first positions followed by infantry and cavalry, the surprized enemy sending up myriads of signal rockets calling for assistance. Germans fled in disorder, leaving all kinds of equipment behind. In most cases they did not take time to apply the torch to the villages they evacuated. The

British casualties were extremely light, while German dead covered the ground as the British advanced. The depth of the first penetration exceeded five miles; next day it was eight miles.

This offensive was under direct command of General Sir Julian Byng. General Pershing, commander-in-chief of the American forces in France, was an interested observer of it. Cavalry were used and not since the famous retreat of the Germans along the Ancre and the Somme in the spring of 1917 had horsemen been engaged in battle on this front. Without any warning, without sign of any unusual strength in men and guns behind the British front, without a single shot fired before the attack, and with great belts of wire still intact, British troops led by great numbers of tanks suddenly assaulted at dawn, smashed through wire, passed to the trenches, and penetrated in many places the main Hindenburg line. Philip Gibbs thought it was "the most sensational and dramatic episode of this year's fighting, brilliantly imagined and carried through with the greatest secrecy." Not a whisper of it had reached men like himself. It was probably "the best kept secret of the war." At a moment when the world was saying that surprize-attacks were no longer possible, when the Prussians were thinking the same thing while sleeping soundly in their comfortable dugouts, without the faintest suspicion that anything was brewing, British tanks leading British infantry, rose up from the ground like magic and swung forward with their attack.

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GENERAL SIR JULIAN BYNG

There had been no artillery preparation. The lumbering tanks pulverized a way through, their ponderous movements

making an easy passage to infantry waiting immediately behind them. They crashed over wire-entanglements, over artfully concealed chevaux-de-frise, and over trenches, and then the walking "Tommies" followed. Since the battle of Arras, the Cambrai sector had dozed in peace and quiet. The German line had seemed impregnable. Germans had been told this so often by their commanders that they were certain of it, confident that it would take weeks of high-explosive shell-preparation and wire-cutting expeditions, as well as an unprecedented barrage, to "'do the trick." So they dozed and slept and took life easy. No more demoralized human beings were ever seen than the Germans as they crawled out of their dugouts, the sleep barely out of their eyes, at the sound of the crunching, lumbering juggernauts above them, only to find British soldiers swarming everywhere. They raised their arms in shrill cries of "Kamerad! Kamerad!" and ran hither and thither, dazed and terror-stricken. Guns that had not fired a shot in this battle were seized by the "Tommies," or crusht into the yielding earth by the weight of tanks, and cement emplacements and steel bound roofs of dugouts were crashed in.

Some time in the night a large number of tanks had taken up berths behind the lines. The Germans didn't hear them and it was too dark for them to see. In the early morning the monsters crawled forth in a hazy dawn, a smoke barrage concealing their camouflaged sides. The Germans didn't know the tanks were in action until they rumbled and wheezed over their heads. The Hindenburg line, the impregnable, the never-yielding, the last word in defenses, was taken, therefore, without a preparatory cannon shot. How complete was the surprize was evidenced by the fact that at one point a German division was in process of relieving another at the moment of the attack.[12]

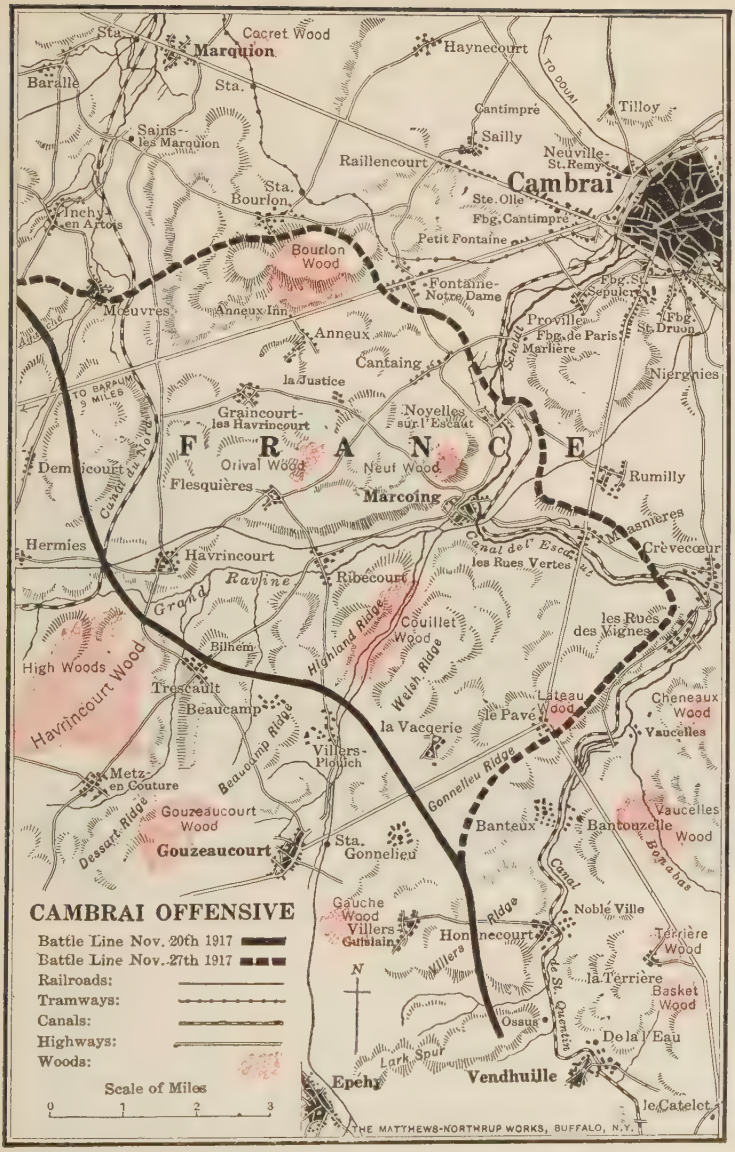
The British had tried an experiment which had for its object the breaking of a line solely through the element of surprize, reliance being placed on tanks to open gaps in wire-entanglements through which infantry could pass. Before the Germans knew an attack was pending, tanks were straddling their trenches, wire-entanglements were gone, and

[12] William P. Simms, United Press correspondent.

a considerable stretch of the line was thrown into complete panic. The territory gained was of vital importance in that it shook the Hindenburg line from St. Quentin northward. Cambrai had been the necessary link in the line, and German possession of Cambrai was threatened.

The attack seemed primarily designed to take off pressure from Italy by compelling Germany to recall troops and guns either sent or marked for sending to Italy. It was a natural and logical military step. It would have been successful, even if little ground had been gained, provided it had lessened the pressure on the Piave line. It resulted in the largest gain of ground—that is, in the most considerable forward push—in the whole period of trench-warfare. The German force quivered and shook at the suddenness of the thing. The steel monsters that battered through cement and earth and human walls were "fearsome giants," said Mr. Simms, and the yelling fiends who followed them were "gnomes who suddenly sprang to life out of the ground." Men from whose heads the lethargy of sleep had hardly passed, blinkingly, dazedly, crowded out of dugouts. Blankets and cots were still warm from sleepers' bodies and breakfast-tables for officers, daintily set, still smoked appetizingly. Sleepers in bunks and on cots had leapt to their feet in the first terror of the moment and fled without hats, blouses, or guns. Stores of choice wines were found in officers' quarters.

One saw that memorable late November morning just before dawn great droves of tanks assembled and bedizened. They seemed " a herd of gentle-looking, stolid creatures that browsed on grass-covered battlefields, sheltered somewhat by trees whose branches showed no nipping by shells." One could imagine the tanks either as bovine herds or as clustered, dingy-looking, neglected farm machinery scattered about. Only a few desultory shells exploded in the distance —the regular, monotonous, every morning interchange—but column after column, mass after mass of men, machines, horses and paraphernalia had slid through the night shadows and lined up for the great war-drama about to start. The German is a creature of habit. He knew it was customary for artillery preparation to precede an attack. As there



BYNG'S OFFENSIVE BEFORE IT WAS THROWN BACK

was no artillery-fire, hence there could be no attack. The ground was practically flat. As there were not many shell-holes, few tanks were seriously delayed.

Behind the tanks trooped the infantry, taking it easy, laughing in glee at the astonished Germans and their frenzied cries of "Kamerad"; or disregarding the staccato machine-gun fire which the more wide-awake and courageous of the enemy eventually poured into their ranks. There were several spots where the Hindenburg line was captured

BRITISH OFFICIAL PHOTO. © WESTERN NEWSPAPER UNION.

RUINS OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ALBERT

without a single casualty. Here and there behind tanks and infantry, cavalrymen swept forward—sometimes actually disregarding the slow-moving tanks and dashing on to swing their sabers and overwhelm the enemy. They had waited impatiently, these cavalrymen, for a chance at the enemy, and so they made the most of their opportunity. British infantrymen who had arrogantly turned up their noses in other days at cavalrymen, holding that trench-boys were the real soldiers, had now to revise their opinion. The cavalry had carved for itself a niche in the war's history by two

days' work. It could not be said that the tanks were alone responsible for the victory, for infantry, artillery, and cavalry all played their part. Nevertheless, the tanks drove the entering wedge without which the triumph would have been impossible. In a few hours they tore to shreds lines of barbed wire, the demolition of which by a concentration of artillery would have required days. Furthermore, their employment made possible a secret attack, and this would have been out of the question had artillery been brought into play. The tanks demonstrated fully their power in saving the lives of men and conserving ammunition.

The casualties among the infantry were exceedingly light. Two battalions had only one casualty each and one suffered the loss of only three men. This was almost unprecedented in an attack of such magnitude. The casualties among the crews of tanks also were light. Some hundreds were in action. Of all the men who went forward less than twenty were killed and less than one hundred wounded. Many casualties were due to the fact that men left the tanks to perform work in the open, where they came under the fire of snipers. Some of the tanks were veterans, but many had never been in an engagement before. Many hundred tons of petrol had been brought up secretly and stored pending the attack, and so quietly that few soldiers in the territory involved knew what was going on. Twleve tanks led the way into Marcoing. They went about the business methodically, each taking the position designated. At Ribecourt they arrived just as the Germans were sitting down to breakfast. The crews got their morning meal from the food prepared for Germany. Some of the tanks were knocked out by direct hits from German guns; some were overturned by shell-fire; others got bogged; one or two buried their noses in the soft earth or turned over when trying to climb steep banks. One fell into a canal, but the greater number plunged ahead unhindered and little hurt.

Haig's troops, in a little more than two day's fighting, had overrun an area equal to that won by the Germans in fifteen days of their first drive at Verdun. So hard-prest for men were the Germans next day that two companies of cripples and convalescents were recruited hastily at one

camp and thrown into the line in the region of Masnières. Some of these pitiful objects fell into British hands and had to receive medical treatment. One prisoner, in the last stages of tuberculosis, had to be moved to prevent the disease from spreading to others who were in a state of exhaustion and virtually helpless from their attempts to fight under the lash of unrelenting officers. The first counter-attack came over the ridge from northeast of Masnières, the Germans advancing in massed formation as in the early days of the war. The British had concentrated a large number of machine-guns at this point, and were hoping for a counter-attack. They permitted the enemy to advance to within a thousand yards before they opened fire. Then the machine-guns and artillery were turned on the Germans, and they were smashed in a withering storm. An attack on Marcoing was attempted by the Germans, but, as in the former case, they were caught in a heavy artillery- and machine-gun fire and turned back, after suffering severely.

An hour later another body of Germans advanced on Noyelles, which was held by one company of British troops. Here some of the stiffest fighting of the battle took place at close quarters. Both sides rushed up reinforcements and for two hours the battle surged back and forth through the streets and among the buildings. It was a *mêlée* in which the bayonet played the principal part. The Germans fought well, but not well enough to withstand the fury of the British assault, and were forced back across the canal to the east. Among the prisoners taken were several officers. One regimental commander came tramping back in an elaborate fur coat, followed by two servants, who carried more of his finery. He was swearing mad at the turn of events, the sight of a company of British cavalry throwing him almost into a frenzy. The language which he directed at the British drew a smile even from the hardened "Tommy," who had a somewhat picturesque vocabulary of his own.

For three days the forces of Byng kept to their task. Having driven the enemy from fortified strongholds, they were forced to battle with him in the open, tanks and dashing cavalry everywhere opening the way for onslaughts by infantry. Altho the stroke was delivered over a front of

thirty-two miles, from the Scarpe to St. Quentin, it was in the center and in the direction of Cambrai that it reached its greatest strength. Here the wedge was driven in more than six and a half miles, and numerous towns and villages fell into the hands of the British, many of them already deserted by the surprized Germans, who had fled in apparent disorder, leaving equipment and stores behind them. The operations of the cavalry were described as brilliant, horsemen making gallant charges into villages and even against machine-gun positions, the entire gun-crews of which were shot or sabered. Fontaine-Notre-Dame was captured in a brilliant attack, but the Germans in a counter-attack regained it. In addition to heavy losses in men killed or wounded, more than 9,000 Germans were made prisoner. The British casualties were declared to be considerably less than the number of prisoners taken. Haig, himself a cavalryman, had clung to mounted troops through many weary months of trench-fighting. He believed some day he would have a chance to use them, and his judgment was now vindicated.

The blow represented true strategy. Haig had hammered at the enemy in Flanders until they were worn out, had driven them back as far as the mud would permit, and compelled them to call on every ounce of strength they had, and then suddenly sprang this surprize attack. The Hindenburg line on the Cambrai front was the strongest the Germans had in the west. Not only was it strongly fortified, but protected by a deep belt of barbed-wire. The tanks went through No Man's Land under the full observation of German artillery, and, while the gun-fire was weak, some fire was directed on the tanks as they advanced. It was interesting to follow the trail of the tanks and to see where shells had struck nearby apparently without doing damage. In one whole section not one tank was knocked out. The operation was tactical in character, but in the preparation for it something like strategic genius was shown. Great principles of war were applied. The British fought on their own chosen ground and at their own time; they struck the enemy unawares; they had gathered before the attack an overwhelming preponderance of striking power; they employed

novelty, both as to plan and means, to such an extent as to bewilder the enemy and render all his plans and means of defense futile. Whether the credit was due to Haig or Byng, or was to be shared between them, the muster-roll of fame was enriched by the exploit and by the military inspiration which it exhibited.

In its bearing on the Allies' plans, the gain of ground at Cambrai counted heavily. Lens, north of Cambrai, was already so closely beset that it seemed to await the finishing blow. St. Quentin, south of Cambrai, seemed within reach of the British on one side and the French on another.

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A GERMAN USING A FIELD-TELEPHONE

The enfeeblement of the enemy at Cambrai increased the strain on the two cities. The interdependence of Cambrai, Lens, and St. Quentin was plain. The Cambrai gains were not merely gains; they were demonstrations of a new method for puncturing the German line. They threatened to overturn the tactics of the Western Front; they promised to supply the one indispensable element without which a victory had been impossible. Tanks, in short, had revealed their worth when employed wholesale. A year ago they had roused the laughter of Germans and it seemed as if they had been driven by ridicule into the background. Now they

were used on a new scale, and they had set at naught all the routine defensive means of the German trench-system. Without the aid of tanks it would have been necessary to throw a million projectiles from thousands of cannon, at an expense of over $50,000,000, in order to occupy half a dozen square miles of territory, and the pounding would have required several days. Tanks, which were of doubtful utility on steep uplands, could be employed in half a dozen vital areas of the Belgian-French front and so promised to do what the monitor did for the Union in 1862 and Krupp cannon for Prussia in 1870 and 1914.

The progress of the Allies in recovering French and Belgian territory since the Hindenburg retreat in March, 1917, had two principal phases: gains made at a single bound in the course of that retreat, extending roughly over a period of a month, and gains achieved in subsequent operations along comparatively limited portions of the front from the North Sea to Reims. These sections, pieced together, made up nearly the whole of that front. Hindenburg's retirement began about March 10. His "voluntary" surrender of territory stopt on April 9, when Haig delivered the first of his strokes from Arras. Just a week later the French made their attack on the Aisne. After that the story of the year's campaign was principally one of a sustained British effort, with blows coming at increasingly frequent intervals. The French were contented with much less frequent efforts, and along a much more limited front, their attention being virtually concentrated on the section of the line between Soissons and Craonne, including Malmaison.

In the British campaign since the beginning of April, with its shifting blows from north to south, the first blow in time, and perhaps the first in the fierceness of the fighting, was made at Arras. The territory regained in this sector was a semicircle on a diameter of twenty miles, with Arras as the center. It was ten miles from Arras north to Lens and about the same distance southeast to the region of Bullecourt and Quéant. Here the British won back something like 120 square miles. Close in importance to the Arras sector was the Ypres sector, where the British drove forward northeast to a depth of five miles with Passchendaele as the

farthest point and along an arc seven miles long from south of Houthulst Wood to the region of Gheluvelt. Here the gain was about twenty-five square miles. The third gain was registered in the single dramatic stroke of the battle of Messines on June 7, by which the German salient from Zillebeke south to Warneton, five miles long and four miles deep, was lopped off, with a British gain of about twenty square miles. Finally came this drive for Cambrai, a surprize not only in tactics, but in the fact that it came along a quiescent section of the front, and made a gain of perhaps fifty square miles.

In round numbers, therefore, the Allies had won back since March about 1,500 square miles of French and Belgian territory. Enormous German conquests had, however, been made in Russia, but this had brought the end of the war no nearer. Teutonic gains in Italy had not led to an Italian collapse, and stood removed from the front on which both sides agreed that the decision must come if the war was to be fought to the bitter end. The Allied gains in territory on that front in the west could not be correctly measured until the full Allied effort had been felt. On the Somme in 1916 the Allied gains had been considerable, but it was only in the next spring that the Somme brought in its full harvest of 1,200 square miles. While still engaged in the Cambrai sector, Haig did not overlook his chance to stab the German line in Flanders. Southeast of Ypres the British drove their line forward slightly. On the southern front the Germans delivered several small attacks against the French in the

NEAR PÉRONNE

The bridge in the center of the picture was originally built to cross a canal, but strangely survived all the bombardment to which the region was subjected and in which the canal itself was destroyed

Aisne region, northwest of Reims and in the Champagne, but all were repulsed by artillery.

After hard fighting, in which troops came into hand-to-hand fighting with varying results, Haig's forces on November 25 were in possession of the town of Bourlon and the greater part of the Bourlon Wood, west of Cambrai. This gave Haig a dominating position over the much sought for railroad center and the surrounding country. English, Welsh, and Scottish battalions, aided by cavalry, encompassed the defeat of the Germans, who had concentrated fresh reserves—men of extreme valor—to face the British in their do-or-die efforts to win high-ground positions. Irish troops late in November took the last mile and a quarter of a thirteen-mile Hindenburg tunnel-trench—the most amazing system of subterranean defenses on the Western Front. The tunnel extended from Bullecourt northwest to the Scarpe, east of Arras, snaking its crooked way so as to conform to the Hindenburg line. It was forty feet underground, with an entrance every thirty-five yards leading from the main trench above. It was electrically lighted. Small rooms opened off the main corridor. In these were superimposed bunks where 20,000 or more troops might, and doubtless did, sleep in comfort out of reach of the heaviest shells. Electric fans kept the air fresh and acted as insurance against asphyxiating gases. Furnaces made it possible to prepare hot meals. Special quarters for officers were as luxurious as in the average modern hotel. They had electric reading-lamps, call-buttons, soft beds, pictures on the walls, writing-desks. Belts and boots put out in the corridor during sleeping hours insured cleaning and polishing by servants. The Irish did the trick at the tunnel in an hour and forty-five minutes. The whole tunnel was mined.[13] In the autumn of 1918 this tunnel became the scene of another thrilling minor action.

November 25 found British troops stretched in a semicircle about Bourlon Wood and Bourlon Village. All day the opposing forces struggled at close quarters for possession of the village, from which the British had been forced after gaining a footing in the rush that took them through the wood. Nightfall still found waves of infantry surging back

[13] William P. Simms, United Press correspondent.

and fourth through the streets of the hamlet, their crimson bayonets telling the story of the conflict. Gradually the Germans fell back, the British pressing forward with a persistance which the enemy could not withstand, until the hamlet was cleared of German troops. The Germans had attached much importance to Burlon. The fighting over the wooded slopes was among the most spectacular of the year. Tanks and airmen paved the way for onrushing infantry, Several monitors led the advance with planes circling over the enemy at a height of thirty to fifty feet, and carrying on vigorous warfare with machine-guns and bombs. It was hard fighting, but the advance was continued successfully until the northeast corner of the wood was reached, where the tanks were held up by a strong force of the enemy. British airmen, who had been fighting close to the ground, deliberately charged on the foe, with machine-guns sending a stream of bullets into the German ranks. The battle was short and decisive. Airplanes wheeled and re wheeled over the heads of Germans and maintained such an intensive fire that they were forced to retire, after suffering considerable losses. Tanks then pushed on, and the conquest of the wood was completed. An entering wedge had been driven into the village.

Almost immediately the Germans delivered a heavy counter-attack on the troops who had penetrated the hamlet, and after a stiff engagement forced them to withdraw to the edge of the wood. A sanguinary struggle followed, and the British, unable to withstand the fury of the German attack, withdrew slightly, until the Germans gained a footing in the northern edge of the forest. The British surged forward again, until dismounted cavalrymen advanced with infantry, and between them they reestablished the old line. Dusk settled down about the contending forces, but they continued to shoot and thrust at one another in gathering darkness. Finally the German forces were driven outside the village, but were still full of determination. Several times through the night they reformed and swept forward against the village, but were hurled back.

Canada had been spendidly represented in the British advance. For the first time since the German retreat from

Bapaume in the spring of 1917, Canadian cavalry here went into action with horses. After waiting a long time opposite the village of Masnières for the signal which sent them into action, the "Hell-for-Leather" Fort Garrys galloped to the attack, crossed the St. Quentin canal and penetrated the enemy's country. What followed equaled anything in cavalry exploits. Dusk found them two miles inside the enemy's territory, commanded by a lieutenant. With swords they fought their way through to a sunken road, and there dismounted. Two messengers sent back to report their position, had their horses shot under them, but struggled back to the British lines. Darkness was falling, but stampeding their horses to divert the enemy's machine-gun fire, what was left of the squadron prepared to return. As they had galloped forward, using the saber, so now they fought their way back on foot with the bayonet. The retirement was a succession of hand-to-hand struggles. Four times the little party met enemy parties and dispersed them. Midnight had passed when they reached Masnières again and fought their way back through enemy infantry. Forty-three came through unwounded and brought with them their own wounded and more than a dozen prisoners.[14]

The sixth day saw Cambrai and Quéant wobbling as a result of the crack in the Hindenburg line. The German garrison at Quéant was in dire distress and the town almost surrounded. Cambrai was now cut off from Quéant by the British hold on Bourlon village, while the Quéant defenders had only a precarious line of communications with the north. Whoever held Bourlon Wood held a constant menace over the land for miles on either side. The wood itself had been literally blasted away and the village was a crumbling jumble of ruins. Crown Prince Rupprecht had fed thousands of his best men into the maw of Bourlon Wood and Prussians seldom fought with such desperation, frantically striving to wrest it from the British. The wood became a mere bundle of sticks, its great trees splintered by high explosives, smashed down by tanks and uprooted by shells. What used to be a wood had become a scrawny hump, 3,000

[14] Canadian Press dispatch.

by 2,500 yards in size, shoved forward into the vitals of the German line.

The last days of November and the first of December saw what proved to be the beginning of a much-heralded German recoil. Entente anxiety as to its outcome became intense. Bulletins sent out from Berlin showed Germany's faith in a pronounced, if not decisive, success. So unusual were the boastful statements that they aroused suspicion. One view was that these inspired warnings were expected to

CANADIANS AT VIMY RIDGE

strike such terror among the Entente Powers as to hasten a desire among them for whatever peace Germany might offer. The German nation was represented as "rapidly approaching a state of hysteria" in anticipation of a really great German drive, which it was expected "would force France and Britain to make peace." The German press, which had been so thoroughly in restraint since the war began, had apparently been allowed ample freedom in dealing with this subject. Several papers went so far as to say that France and Britain would soon receive a blow "from practically the entire force of Germany and Austria combined," and that this would crush the western line, take Paris, and secure for Germany the Channel coast. Thus one blow was ex-

pected to break the power of France and another was to menace England with invasion. Recalling the Kaiser's love of the spectacular, there grew up a widespread belief that he was aiming at something like quick results in time for holiday rejoicing in Germany. Germany beyond question considered the time was ripe for a gigantic effort on all fronts, in order to accomplish a decisive victory before an American army could become available.

Admissions that the Germans were preparing the greatest of blows with enthusiastic predictions of its success, continued for days to fill the German newspapers. Hindenburg was about to "subject the Allies on the Western Front to the same treatment that had been meted out to Italy." England and France were to face the necessity of resisting "almost all the forces at the disposal of the Central Powers." The great blow was to finish the war and compel the Allies to "submit to the will of the German victors." One paper, the *Neueste Nachrichten* of Munich, declared definitely that the Allies would be "forced to accept our peace." What actually occurred at that time was a successful counter-offensive from Cambrai. It was not until nearly four months later, or on March 21, 1918, that Germany undertook the really great offensive forecasted in these announcements.

Many interesting questions were raised as to why a halt of the British occurred at Cambrai after one of the most brilliant initial successes of the war. It seemed not too much to say that Haig had found his position insecure in much the same way as Field-Marshal French had found his after the battle of Loos in the autumn of 1915, when on September 25, a great British advance reached and passed the crest of Hill No. 70, which was the key of Lens, and the German evacuation of the town had begun, so that one of the great successes of the war seemed in plain sight, but Scottish troops had taken Hill No. 70 and were not supported, and the Germans in a counter-offensive regained the hill. British success in Artois thus became limited to a mile advance on a narrow front, purchased at the price of more than sixty thousand casualties. At Loos and Lens, as at Neuve Chapelle, failure to support an initial success de-

prived the British of a permanent victory. So now it was at Cambrai.

The British had pushed forward in some places more than six miles. They had occupied Bourlon Wood, which was the key to Cambrai, as Hill No. 70 was the key to Loos. There had been days when it seemed probable that the Germans would be compelled to evacuate Cambrai and with it a long stretch of the Hindenburg line between the Scheldt and the Deule. But the Germans, after several days, were able to launch a counter-thrust which removed the peril, restored the security of the Hindenburg line, and reduced the British success to a few square miles of shell-torn territory, won at a cost of many casualties and the largest surrender of guns known as a loss to the British Army. Byng's success had quite surpassed British expectations, but at the summit of their victory, the British passed far beyond the objectives they had hoped to win until Byng was beyond his resources, his attention being concentrated upon Bourlon Woods to the neglect of his flank along the Scheldt, and then with his reserve exhausted, he stood practically helpless in the face of a great German counter-attack.

In the various British operations at Arras, Messines and in Flanders, and even in those on the Somme, there had been no German counter-thrust which achieved any material success, because the British advances stopt in time. Preparations for holding what they had won were adequate, the whole operation being conducted in accordance with prearranged plans. That the Cambrai offensive was checked by the Germans as it was, had to be accepted as evidence that the extent of the original victory was unexpected, that the attempt to stretch the success beyond reasonable limits was a blunder and that the cost represented one of the great defeats of the British, altho the British still remained masters of much conquered ground. The counter-attack was perhaps the most formidable the British had yet met in this section. It was made with the greatest concentration of men and guns the Germans had yet effected. Bavarian shock troops attacked in dense masses, to the accompaniments of an intensified artillery-fire, which showed tremendous concentration.

There had been hard fighting on November 27 in and about Bourlon Wood and village, westward of Moeuvres and eastward around the half-burned village of Fontaine-Notre-Dame. The Germans had continued to bring up reinforcements and mass them near Cambrai, altho they could no longer detrain them there, as the station was under the fire of British guns. The old town itself had been evacuated by civilians. After a spell of mild weather, which had favored the British at the beginning, the weather turned bitterly cold. Men and horses suffered from exposure to a savage and cutting wind on a wide stretch of open country and had no shelter.

Down to December 1 the attempt of Crown Prince Rupprecht to nullify Byng's advance by an encircling movement had resulted apparently in failure. Altho at certain points the Germans pierced British lines and captured positions, men and guns, they paid dearly for their enterprise, the dead near La Vacquerie during the course of twelve hours "having been greater in number than during any similar period of fighting since the war began." Relatively, the British line remained as it was before the German drive, and tactically was still strong. The Germans now endeavored to pierce the front at Masnières, and delivered ten attacks. At the village of Les-Rues-Vertes was a sharp salient, formed by the British occupation of Mesnières, an extremely hard one to hold, and to improve his line, Byng ordered the evacuation of the village, which was carried out unmolested by the Germans, who next morning evidently had not learned of the evacuation, as they continued to bombard the place. Berlin, however, announced that the village had been "cleared of British." Near the southern base of the line, the Germans attempted to better their positions around Gonnelieu, La Vacquerie and Bovréalon, but their efforts, as at Masnières, brought little more than additional heavy casualties.

The Bourlon Wood was a position of great importance, Cambrai being only a little more than two miles distant. From a hill crest, not only was Cambrai distinctly visible in detail, but with mediocre glasses every train or transport entering or leaving the city was in plain sight. It was evident that the value of Cambrai as a German base was

rapidly dwindling. The Germans therefore massed for attack and reacted heavily. The Entente armies had not been alone in recognizing the greater value of artillery as compared with infantry. The personnel of the gunnery branch of the German army by the autumn of 1917 had become nearly as great in numbers as the infantry. The field-artillery branch at the opening of hostilities in 1914 consisted of only 642 batteries, while in 1917 it was composed of 2,000 batteries. In 1914 the German army possest only 3,852 field guns, while now it disposed of 8,000. Field artillery batteries were here divided into two kinds—those armed with 77-centimeter cannon (3-inch), and those armed with light 4-inch howitzers. The German 3-inch cannon had been much improved and its range greatly increased since 1914. Of German big guns, 25 per cent. were long range cannon and the remaining 75 per cent. howitzers. The most numerous of the long-range guns were 4-inch, 4½-inch, 5-inch and 6-inch, but they possest also batteries of 8.7-inch, 9.7-inch, 11-inch and 15-inch long range guns, altho these latter were few in number. Their howitzers were for the most part of 6-inch caliber, but besides these they had batteries of 11-inch, 12-inch and 17-inch howitzers.

In seventeen months Germany had lost 200,000 prisoners in battle, in addition to some 50,000 lost in minor phases of trench-warfare before French and British lines. In that period the Germans had never at any one time captured 2,000 British or French prisoners. Measured by guns, they had lost no fewer than 1,500 pieces. They had lost between 1,200 and 1,500 square miles of French territory and slowly but surely had been pushed back. The blow at Cambrai seemed final evidence of the fashion in which their defensive was breaking down. British success at Ypres in 1917 in fact forecasted the time when, early in the next spring, the Germans would have to withdraw from the Belgian coast. While this war was not to be won by a Waterloo or a Sedan, the Germans in Allied offensives since July, 1916, had lost more prisoners than Napoleon lost at Waterloo or Napoleon III at Sedan. So it was that the nation which set out to take Paris and conquer France in six weeks had found herself, in the first half of the fourth year of the war, conducting a

desperate and losing defensive nearly a hundred miles from Paris.

In the ten separate counter-attacks launched against Masnières by German forces on December 1 an intense battle raged. It was said the British killed more Germans between daylight and dark than in any similar period since the war began. It was practically a continuous fight. Enemy infantry kept surging forward in waves, and as each came up it was caught by fire from artillery, rifles, and machine-guns. The attacking forces were mowed down "like wheat before the wind," but with characteristic Prussian discipline they continued to fill their ranks and advance until the last assault failed. During the afternoon the Germans succeeded in capturing Les Roesvertes, a suburb of Masnières, but a British counter-attack delivered at 5 o'clock pushed them out again. German guns on elevations south and southeast of Masnières late that afternoon were conducting a heavy bombardment against the town.

The Germans employed a large force—at least six or seven divisions—for attack from Moeuvres to Bourlon Wood and four or five divisions in the southern offensive. They fought in masses in both sectors and their losses were exceedingly heavy. Their claim of four thousand Allied prisoners might be correct; there was no denial of the report at the time. The British fared well in the matter of guns, however. In the first rush about Gouzecourt the Germans captured a considerable number and not a few of the German guns which the British had taken in their drive the week before. But they were unable to move this artillery back before a British counter-attack swept them eastward again. The British recovered all the German artillery captured and the major part of their own, but their offensive had been checked. Cavalry was apparently in action on both sides. The battle was waged almost uninterruptedly. The German artillery concentration exceeded anything they had effected in the way of gunfire since Verdun. London was confident that their casualties were nearly double the British. The weight of German reserves admittedly forced some readjustment of the British lines. Masnières—now a ruin of pulverized stone and brick—became untenable in view of the

fierce German artillery concentration upon it. At one or two other spots the British were forced to shift their positions. Crown Prince Rupprecht had great numbers of reserves and was not sparing them. Some towns and positions in the Cambrai sector changed hands half a dozen times in the rolling, tumbling, shifting fight.

Americans did their bit in resisting Germany's formidable assault upon Cambrai. They were engineers and doctors. Some of the engineers got caught in a maelstrom of struggling line and some were cut off. Many rolled up their sleeves and went into the fight with borrowed rifles and fought with the British "like bear-cats." American doctors under fire stuck to their job of helping the wounded. Ever since the beginning of Byng's thrust, American army engineers had been building and operating strategic railways close up to the German lines. Indeed, for nearly four months they had been working in the devastated fields of the Somme in shifts of twenty-four hours a day. No such amount of track had been laid in this region before in so short a time. More than once these men came under heavy shell-fire, laboring at their tasks while shells were bursting a hundred yards away. Three companies of Americans had been employed in this region since about August 1. Two were occupied with the operation and maintenance of railways, the others with constructing new narrow-gage lines. Col. William Barclay Parsons, under whom these railroad men had been operating, on returning home in April, 1919, wrote of the exploit as follows:[14a]

"On the morning of November 30, at seven o'clock, the Germans began their celebrated counter-attack. It was concentrated at two points, Moeuvres on the north and Gouzeaucourt on the south. The northern attack failed, but at Gouzeaucourt the British line was lightly held, and the Germans, acting as the British had previously without preliminary artillery warning, broke through in great masses, our men suddenly surprized at their work, were without arms. (Never again did they go into the field without their rifles.) The gray-clad German forces were seen rushing up the road. Hurriedly a miscellaneous force was gathered to stem the advance. Seizing picks, shovels, the few rifles they could find—anything—the

[14a] In the *Times* (New York).

Americans joined what British infantry was available. The defense soon took the form of hand-to-hand fighting, the Americans and British battling desperately to halt the Germans, greatly superior in numbers. While our resistance was not sufficiently powerful to stop the Germans, it did delay them and enabled the British to reconstitute the holding line.

"We suffered heavily in killed, wounded, and prisoners. It was the first real fight of the war in which American forces had taken part. The fighting continued severely all day. At night the British held and the Americans took positions in the back-line trenches in case the Germans renewed their offensive. Finally the British straightened their lines by giving up part of the territory they had gained and leaving our rail connection in German hands. At the end of January we were withdrawn and ordered to report for duty in central France in the construction of railway lines and yards. On March 21 the big German offensive began."

While this was our first real fight, it was not the first actual fighting by an organized force of Americans in France after we declared war. That first episode had occurred in the Verdun neighborhood on November 3, where three Americans were killed and four wounded, after having been in the trenches only a few days.

In the region of Gonnelieu, La Vacquerie and southward to Vendhuile and northward toward Masnières battles were waged with great fierceness on December 3, but with the Germans nowhere successful in breaking the British front. At La Vacquerie they again succeeded in penetrating a village from which they had been ejected previously, but a strong counter-attack turned the scales in favor of Byng's forces. Fighting like wildcats, the British held the enemy. Fields from near Quéant around Byng's new salient to Vendhalle were piled with dead Germans. Fifteen waves deep they came to the attack. In these solid phalanx-like columns, British artillery, machine-guns, and rifles did fearful execution. West of Bourlon one British machine-gunner fired 70,000 rounds from one gun in a single day, and all at a range of not more than 1,200 yards, this being only one rapid-fire gun out of many directed at solid masses of Germans. As the dead dropt in piles, other gray-coated fighters filled the gaps. Germany was exerting her utmost, desperately anxious to force a decision before the Americans

arrived. Germans, Bavarians, Prussians, and the guards—the very pick of the Teutonic forces—were in the German assault.

The whole thing represented a skilful and successful local counter-offensive. It was a brilliant military operation, and demonstrated that the German army on the Western Front was still capable of dangerous attacks and probably insured a continued German stay in Cambrai; in any case the Germans would now be able to hold Cambrai until spring. The most considerable profit for the Germans, however, was not

FRENCH GRAVES AT MARŒUIL, NEAR ARRAS

in the ground regained, or in prisoners and guns taken. It had been impossible for them to permit the British to stand because its effect upon their own armies and their own public was becoming disastrous. While they had taken more British prisoners and more British guns than at any time since the Marne campaign, measured by the size of armies to-day, this was trivial. It represented the same kind of loss that the Germans had suffered over and over again, but on the moral side it interrupted a long succession of German defeats at the hands of the British.

By December 5, after four days of onslaughts equal to any previously witnessed during the war, only artillery

was engaged. Altho the Germans claimed the capture of more than 6,000 British prisoners, and more than 100 guns, reports from the British War Office indicated that the German loss in men killed, wounded, or made prisoners, was heavy. It was conceded, however, that the British would be forced, by reason of the dangerous salient held by the Germans, to straighten out their front somewhat; but optimism was exprest that, on the whole, Byng's forces would be able to give a good account in any further attack the Germans might launch. The plans of Byng to withdraw his troops at various points on the salient to more tenable positions were carried out in perfect order and apparently without the Germans having any knowledge of the movement. The falling back was made necessary by the wedges that had been driven into the salient, which on several sectors threatened disaster. From an arc extending before Cambrai, a distance of about eighteen miles, the British front was now lessened to about ten miles. As a result, the Germans claimed the reoccupation of Graincourt, Anneux, Noyelles, and the woods and heights north of Marcoing. Their uncontested gain had been to a depth of about two and a half miles over a front of six and a quarter miles.

The British army still expected to meet Germany's biggest —and perhaps her final—offensive of the war. Byng's retirement from Bourlon Wood was regarded as the first precautionary measure taken to withstand such a shock coming later. As the British saw it, Germany was at the zenith of her military power. With Russia out of the way, she was able to employ in the west an increased man-power derived from points along Russian lines and she was apparently preparing to throw every ounce of her energy into a supreme attempt at a military victory before the arrival of American troops. On the Bourlon sector two alternatives had been open to Byng: the one, to push ahead and take the consequences; the other, to step backward and gain a more secure footing. With the Russian situation as it was, the backward step seemed the only one to take, especially as the withdrawal would put the British in a much better position to receive attacks. The withdrawal was carried out so well that the unsuspecting Germans continued to make attacks on

land now unoccupied, shelling uninhabitated territory for hours with a hurricane barrage. They then attacked with dense masses. Storming waves found the forest of Bourlon garrisoned only with their own dead. One dash of British shrapnel sent them scurrying back, after which came thick waves of more German "shock troops," charging over the crest and on both sides of Bourlon, where they found positions occupied only by rats. While Germans were trying to understand the withdrawal, British pelted their closely packed masses with shells. The British did not leave any war material in the evacuated section. Even telephone wires were neatly rolled up and taken away. Every dugout was destroyed.[15]

German casualties since the beginning of the fighting on the Cambrai front were estimated in London at 100,000. Nothing vital was surrendered by the British. The breach in the Hindenburg line was just as wide as before. The chief disappointment was at the retirement from the heights of Bourlon Wood, but the wood had become a loathsome place. It formed an acute angle at the end of the salient, shattered and plowed with shells, full of pools of stagnant water and of dead, and had been so continuously drenched with gas that its garrison had almost to live in gas-masks. The withdrawal by no means converted the Cambrai victory into complete defeat. So far as the German attempt to inflict a defeat was concerned, it resulted in colossal losses to themselves after territorial gains, captures of prisoners and guns. What remained to British credit was the breach made in the Hindenburg line which remained in British hands with the main line trenches and a large tract of country.

The forest of Bourlon had now a sinister aspect; a belt of trees on a ridge above Graincourt and Anneux, and the country beyond Anneux, grim and silent, with nowhere a sign of life. Trees seemed more motionless here than in other woods and blacker seemed the clouds in the sky. As the Germans had flung gas-shells into the forest and soaked all its glades and undergrowth, every bush reeked with poison; moisture on tree trunks, every bead of dew on branches and twigs, had a drop of it. Floating mists were

[15] William P. Simms, United Press correspondent.

heavy with it. When the British left Bourlon Wood enough poison remained to last for days.

The normal German strength in the west had been about 160 divisions, or, approximately, two and a half million troops. In three months, however, nearly twice as many divisions had been identified, so that the number of German troops in France and Belgium had become not less than four and a half million. Opposed to the Germans there were not less than four million British and French. For the first time in many months Germany found herself numerically superior to her enemies. Moreover, there was every indication that this superiority would be maintained, at least until the summer of 1918, and possibly until the winter. Germany had every available man at the front. Her possible recruiting during the year would, however, be small. Equally so would be that of France and England. France had almost drained her manpower. Britain likewise had thoroughly combed her population for men of military age and fitness. The indications were that summer would find not more than a half million American troops in Europe, so that, at best, Germany's numbers would be hardly more than equaled by the Entente.

French and British had now carried offensives to success, but had never been able to break through and roll up the Germans, and there was no reason to suppose that the Germans would be any more successful in this respect with their coming offensive than the French and British had been. They had superior numbers, but they had no such superiority as would warrant the expectation that they could smash through into the French rear and force the whole line back. The most reasonable expectation was that, even if the French and British suffered heavy losses, and perhaps defeats, when spring came the front would not be very far from where it was now. The crying need was to get American men and equipment to France as fast as possible. That the Austro-Germans were relieving great numbers from duty on the eastern front and throwing them into the lines in France and Italy became daily more and more apparent by reason of the almost continuous augmentation of Teutonic forces in these regions. The belief still grew that with the fighting

ended on the Russian front—for the moment at least—the Germans were preparing for a great offensive on the Western Front in the spring, as indeed Ludendorff was.

On December 12 the Germans, following heavy artillery preparations, made a vigorous atempt to drive another wedge into the British line. Altho they used numerically superior forces, their effort brought only a minor gain. The attack, launched between Bullecourt and Quéant, was similar to that adopted by Crown Prince Rupprecht's troops when they pierced Byng's front southwest of Cambrai nearly two weeks before, and caused a retirement of the British on the salient which Byng previously had driven toward Cambrai. Huge waves of Bavarians were thrown upon the sector in an endeavor to overpower the defenders, but the British held tenaciously to their ground, except at one point, where the Germans penetrated a front-line position. The Germans lost heavily, the British mowing them down with machine-gun and rifle-fire from dawn until 1 P.M. The spot chosen for that attack was similar, from a strategic standpoint, to that near Gonnelieu, where the offensive of a fortnight before had begun. Had it succeeded, another retirement by the British probably would have been necessary. Notwithstanding their failure, the Germans kept up an intensive bombardment all along the Western Front. They were daily receiving additional reinforcements in men and guns. Next day an attack, made between Bullecourt and Quéant, was a complete failure.

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PRINCESS MAUD AS A NURSE
The Princess is a daughter of King George

provided the Teuton losses in men killed and made prisoner were put in the balance with the small gain of ground. Another attack by the Germans in the Caurières Wood on the Verdun sector met with a repulse. A most expensive operation was an attack between Bullecourt and Quéant. Berlin admitted that only a few British shelters and ninety prisoners were taken, while Haig reported that heavy casualties were inflicted all along the front.

Under an armistice now negotiated with the Bolsheviki, not only had the best German units been taken from a field where they were no longer required, but an elaborate system of exchanges of small units, and of individual men was going on for weeks, by which a skeleton army of weaklings could be kept up for a time in the east, while young and robust soldiers were conveyed to depots or to corps engaged against the French, British, or Italian armies. The so-called Russian front was to become a training ground for lads of 18 and a camp for invalids and some hundreds of thousands of able-bodied prisoners of war were to be repatriated. Germany's chief aims were to liberate completely what remained in Russia of good material for use elsewhere. She had already engaged her best in Italy. The dangerously thinned ranks of western divisions, which had fallen to as low as 12,000 men, were now being refreshed. Rather more serious, perhaps, was the reinforcement in artillery and airplanes which the armistice permitted. Would Hindenburg now use all this and his previous strength in an adventurous attack in France? The possibility was viewed without serious alarm by men able to judge. The Allied armies were in a better position to resist such an effort than they were when they broke previous grand assaults. Certain appearances notwithstanding, the Central Empires were in a desperate condition while the Allied armies were confident of the result.[16]

British troops on the Cambrai front passed the last day of the old year in a desperate but successful fight to break down German attacks. Preceded by liquid fire, the enemy attempted to rush the British positions on a front of 1,200 yards around the Welsh Ridge, a commanding position south of Marcoing. The first rush brought the Germans into

[16] Cable dispatch from G. H. Perris to The New York *Times*.

trenches on the ridge, but the British, in a counter-attack, threw the enemy out and restored the position. On the center and northern ends of the attacking line, British artillery and rifle fire repulsed the Germans.[17]

[17] Principal Sources: The "Military Expert" of the New York *Times*, Associated Press and United Press correspondents; The *Sun*, The *Tribune*, New York; Canadian Press reports, The *World* (New York).

GERMANS IN A TRENCH USING AN ARMORED SHIELD

V

RETROSPECT AND OUTLOOK AT THE YEAR'S END —CLEMENCEAU MADE PREMIER OF FRANCE

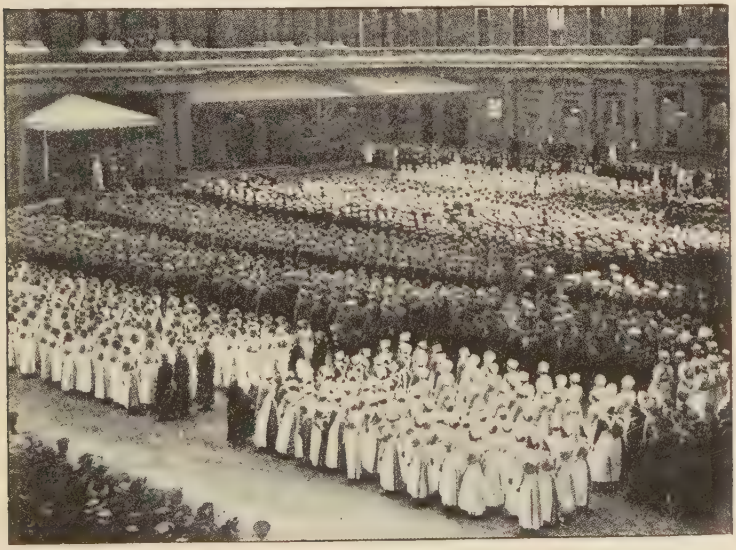
WITHOUT further notable activity, the year 1917 came to an end, so that the promised great German offensive, if it made its appearance, would have to do so in the new year.[18] A postponement, if not the final banishment, of certain German and certain Allied hopes had marked the old year. With the Russian collapse an end came to an expected Allied decision, but before Germany could capitalize for herself the moral and military consequences, the United States entered the war, bringing a moral influence which promised to dissipate the effects of Russian desertion. The Allies, trusting Russia, had hoped to win, and the Germans, knowing Russia, expected to triumph; each had been disappointed. It seemed clear that the Germans no longer had the resources necessary to obtain that decision in the west which they had sought and which had escaped them at the Marne and again at Verdun. They had hoped to find in the submarine a weapon that would force the Allies into a negotiated peace, but this by the end of the year had failed and, despite its ravages and its existing peril, it was no longer regarded in or out of Germany as likely to win the war.

The Allies, when they saw the extent of the Russian collapse sought by an offensive in Flanders to compel the Germans to shorten their lines and evacuate western France, but the thrust failed of a decision and with it went the chance for that year of clearing northern France. British and French alike won victories and Germans lost territory in this offensive, but the Germans at the end of the year made a masterly counter-offensive before Cambrai. Meanwhile in the East, Bagdad and Jerusalem with Mesopotamia and Palestine, had fallen, and German East Africa, the last of Germany's colonial possessions, had virtually passed into British hands.

[18] Not until March 21, 1918, was this expected German offensive begun.

But Germany had won so great a success at Caporetto that the very safety of Italy at one time was imperilled.

If this war had been fought out a quarter of a century earlier, the Germans would before now have been driven behind their frontier; but the developments of science had so strengthened the power of the tactical defense that when a position had once been won, it could be defended much more easily than it could be captured. Machine-guns and magazine rifles had revolutionized tactics. The Germans owed



BRITISH WOMEN WAR WORKERS

They are standing before the King and Queen in the entrance courtyard of Buckingham Palace

their initial successes to the numbers of their guns, and especially to their machine-guns, even more than to the number of their men, and the perfection of their organization. Multiplication of machine-guns enabled them to defend the positions they won in the autumn of 1914, but not to attack positions in front of them. Herein lay the weakness of their situation. An invading army can not stand still indefinitely; it must either advance or retire, and the latter alternative was the one which the Germans had to face so soon as the Allies

obtained a preponderance in the ammunition supply necessary to break down resistance. Great Britain had now cleared the seas of German ships, and the Germans had lost all their colonies. In Mesopotamia the Allies were slowly but surely destroying Germany's dream of Asiatic dominion. World power had fallen from her grasp and fallen beyond hope of recovery.

The situation, as between Germany and her British foe, remained at the end of the year favorable to the Briton. Tirpitz had truthfully said that Great Britain at this time had won and Germany had lost the war, in the sense that in future a crippled Germany must face her strengthened British rival. Whatever else remained to be settled, it was clear that Belgium would remain independent and closely united in sympathy with the Entente Allies. France was equally sure to emerge from the war territorially intact. The sole western questions still to be debated seemed to be whether Germany would keep or lose Alsace-Lorraine and whether she could be compelled to indemnify Belgium and France for the wanton destruction she had done. The year had made it apparent that Germany's western hopes had been destroyed and that France would survive the year a still great power bound in firm alliance with the British Empire. Belgian independence was ultimately certain, because, unless Germany agreed to this, she would have to fight for an indefinite time the United States, Great Britain and France.

At the beginning of the campaign of 1917, the German situation had been, on the surface, almost desperate. Russia, France, Britain, and Italy, with their minor allies, possest on every front a combined force vastly in excess of the troops of Germany and Austria. By contrast with their condition in the previous year, the Germans no longer had a strategic reserve such as they had used against Verdun. On all fronts they had lost ground and this was not to be counter-balanced by their successful offensive against Roumania, which had been successful only because Roumania was deserted by the Russian ruling faction, and abandoned to destruction. Germany had found herself hard prest all through the latter half of 1916 so that her enemies might reasonably have expected that, with a renewal of a concen-

tration attack in 1917, she would be forced to shorten her lines both east and west. But when the attack was resumed, Russia, after a preliminary round of Allied successes, suddenly collapsed, and from that moment rapidly disappeared as a factor in the contest. Germany was then placed in a position where she could easily spare 100,000 men in an offensive against Italy, whose Isonzo successes had become portentous to Austria. The result was a great disaster to Italy, with a loss of 250,000 prisoners, half her artillery and more than half her stores and ammunition. This disaster completed the ruin of Allied prospect that year. Italy thereafter seemed to the Allies a liability, for it was necessary for them to send men and guns to save her, just at a time when the Germans were beginning to transfer troops from the eastern to the Western Front. The British attack at Cambrai, which might have resulted in one of the decisive battles of the war, had Haig been able to support Byng with the corps he had sent to Italy, ended in a dashing of British hopes.

The front which Great Britain was holding might well bear brief analysis. German concentrations from Nieuport to Soissons were heavier than on any other section of the front. Germany knew this was the front where she had most to fear. It was the front which guarded her hold on Belgium and made that hold possible. It was the front which protected her submarine bases. Moreover, of all territory occupied by her, that which she most desired to hold when the war was ended was Belgium. Her intentions, or rather her hopes, were exprest in a willingness, announced in September, to evacuate Belgium, provided she could have economic control of certain parts which were most desirable —for example, Antwerp, "the pistol pointed at the heart of England." But Belgium was the one place over which England was determined that Germany should not exert control. Therefore, Germany made her greatest showing on this part of the battle area. Between Soissons and Pont-à-Mousson the line east was also strongly held, but by no means as strongly as from Soissons to the sea.

Of the 3,000,000 British, about 1,700,000 were from the British Isles, 400,000 were Canadians, 300,000 Australians

and New Zealanders, and the remainder Indians and South Africans, the latter in the proportion of about two Indians to one South African. The colonials had many more men in training at home and in England. These were the numbers of British actually on the Western Front. In addition to the men enlisted for fighting purposes there were great numbers of men engaged in Great Britain in producing war materials and supplies for the armies in the field. The British permanent loss, which included killed, prisoners, and those definitely removed from the battle-line for other purposes during the three years of war, approached one million men.

Germany now probably had 6,800,000 men as the "human material" with which to enforce her demand for "a place in the sun." This was the "man-power" that remained to her out of a total of 14,000,000 men who had figured on the German military lists and passed through the hands of Germany's arbiters since the war began. Of the 6,800,000, approximately 5,500,000 were actually at the front in all the fighting zones and 600,000 were in reserve. The remaining 700,000 were boy soldiers of the classes of 1919 and 1920, who made up the only reserve resources of "human material" upon which Germany could draw. It was for them to fill up losses in the German army which, with no major Allied offensive in progress, normally totaled from 70,000 to 80,000 monthly. Before the war the German army contained fifty-one divisions of 870,000 men. Mobilization at the declaration of war of all who had had previous military training brought the total to 4,500,000. But these were insufficient. The Ersatz or compensatory reserve, 800,000 strong, was mobilized, these being men whose physical condition was a trifle under normal army standard. Then the class of 1914 was called out—450,000 men who became 20 years old in that year. In 1915 the call for the first of the Landsturm yielded 1,100,000 men; the 1915 class another 450,000; a special call in September for the remainder of the Landsturm 130,000, and an advance call for the 1916 class of 450,000. Germany combed out 300,000 more by stringent examination of those previously exempted. In 1916, the 1917 class was called out early—450,000 boys, 18

and 19 years old. Another combing process added 300,000 more, and finally in November the 1916 class was called out —another 450,000. In 1917 another squeezing process found 150,000 more men, draining the empire of every man who by any stretch of medical inspection could be regarded as fit for military service. There remained no other resource except the boys taken as soon as they became 18. Not before 1918 could the German Staff begin incorporating the 1921 class—and then only as fast as they became 18. At least 500,000 fit men were needed for indispensable industrial and civil service behind the lines. The utterly unfit totaled 2,800,000.[19]

At least 38,000,000 men were now bearing arms or in training for war—27,500,000 on the side of the Allies and 10,600,000 on the side of the Central Powers. These figures did not include the naval personnel of the belligerents, which would raise the total some millions. Against Germany's 7,000,000, Austria's 3,000,000, Turkey's 300,000, and Bulgaria's 300,000, were arrayed the following forces. Russia (if counted), 9,000,000; France, 6,000,000; Britain, 5,000,000; Italy, 3,000,000; Japan, 1,400,000; United States, more than 1,000,000; China, 541,000; Roumania, 320,000; Serbia, 300,000; Belgium, 300,000; Greece, 300,000; Portugal, 200,000; Montenegro, 40,000; Siam, 36,000; Cuba, 11,000, and Liberia, 400. Military experts believed these figures represented in round numbers the comparative strength of the contending armies. Germany and Austria made every effort to conceal the precise numbers of their armies. Careful estimates of Allied military intelligence departments placed the total at about 10,000,000, with Germany's forces more than double Austria's.

In the first half of 1916, when the German press was exulting in studies of the war map of Europe, Hindenburg with truth had described Germany's military position as "brilliant, but without a future." Increasingly effective methods of fighting the under-sea menace, and a great speeding-up of shipbuilding in our own country, seemed to mark the turning of the tide of *U*-boat frightfulness, and the collapse of Germany's main hope of victory. George

[19] Henry Wood, United Press correspondent.

Gothien, a progressive member of the Reichstag, was quoted in a Berlin dispatch as saying that there was "no hope of crushing Germany's enemies on land," while as for the submarine campaign, some millions of tons of shipping had been sunk, but "no disposition toward peace on the part of England was discernible." In the United States men saw for the first time a thorough and effective use of the weapon that Germany was said to fear most, namely, a drastic embargo to keep food and other supplies from neutral countries contiguous to the Central Powers.

In Flanders, as has already been made clear, deep-dug trenches were impossible. Resort was of necessity had to sand-bags, that is, to building up a trench rather than to digging one down. Such construction stood out clearly against the sky in that flat, featureless country, and was therefore an admirable mark for artillery. To overcome both objections, the Germans constructed so-called "pill-boxes," small concrete block-houses, half buried in the ground, each of which was a machine-gun post, manned with a thoroughly experienced crew, trained for just the work it was called upon to perform. This now constituted the first-line German defenses. Behind it were the reserves, formed for the inevitable counter-attack, which was to be directed against the British infantry who advanced beyond the line of block-houses. All this meant that the German front line was thinly held and depended for its defense upon machine-gun posts, which had been carefully placed with a view to enfilading the advancing infantry-line.

These posts caused the British trouble. They could not quite make out what the game was, nor how to meet it. But finally a solution was found in an increasing artillery-fire, and then Germany's real trouble began. The Germans could not man the positions heavily, because their losses were too great. They could not man them thinly, because then the British infantry would walk over them, while the artillery caught their massed reserves and wrecked them. And yet they obviously had to do one or the other. They stuck to the pill-box defense, and the British walked over them. The Germans had not found a way to match the British offensive. They had tried it both with men and machines, and both

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GENERAL PERSHING LISTENING TO MARSHAL JOFFRE

had proved failures. The British march kept on. British losses were severe, but the German losses were more so, and in a sense it became a war of subtraction from the opposing forces, more than it was a war in which progress could be measured on the map. The British finally gained the village of Passchendaele and the crest of the ridge which looked down upon the town of Roulers only six miles away. All the high ground which the Germans now held was a short

AN EAST INDIAN CEMETERY IN ENGLAND

Here were buried Moslem soldiers from India, who died in England of wounds received in the war. The cemetery is attached to a Moslem mosque at Woking, in Surrey, where services for Moslems visiting, or resident in, England have long been held

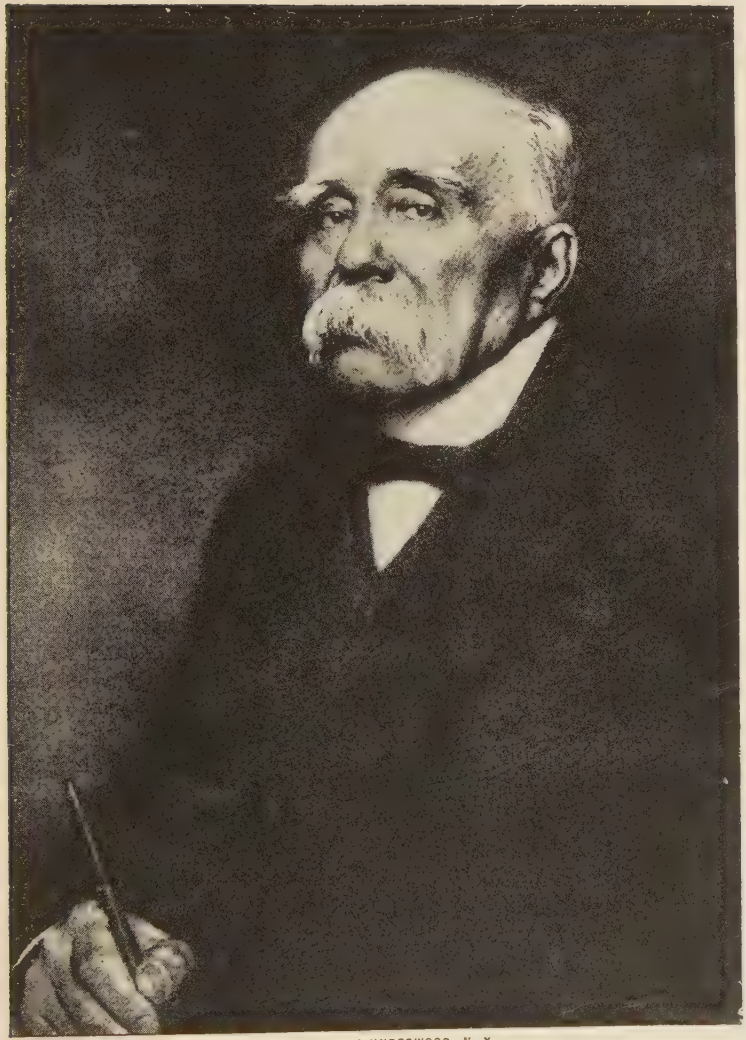
spur northward from Passchendaele, and this was taken on November 9. The Germans had clung to it desperately, because possession by the British would be the first step in throwing a noose around Houthulst Woods and so choking the Germans out of them. Marlborough had been credited with saying that whoever held Houthulst controlled Flanders. This was in every sense true. When the Allies took this

great clump of woods and the height on which it was situated the Germans had no alternative but to retire.

It was interesting to recall that it was on November 1, 1914, in the last phase of the great drive on Calais, that the Germans shifted their attack to the Messines-Wytschaete front and seized the southern end of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge. Here, near Ypres, in that memorable first battle of Flanders, was won Britain's greatest success. Next day a French Army Corps arrived and retook both Messines and Wytschaete, but the French were unable to hold either. German possession of Messines and Wytschaete was recovered and so the famous Ypres salient was created. Henceforth, from the highest ground in that whole region, the Germans had looked down upon and commanded the communications of the British in and east of Ypres. In eleven days, between October 12 and November 1, 1914, that portion of the British Expeditionary Army which fought around Ypres was approximately exterminated. The Seventh Division alone lost 356 out of its 400 officers, and 9,664 out of 12,000 of its rank and file. The total British losses were 40,000, the German losses as high as 200,000, or in excess of their losses at the Marne. For three weeks the British at Ypres fought an enemy five times as numerous as they themselves were, and equipped with heavy artillery and machine-guns, both of which weapons were lacking to the British in any effective numbers. Probably 60 per cent.—perhaps more—of the British army were killed, wounded, or captured, but in the end the British still held Ypres. Great Britain's professional army practically perished at Ypres, but its tradition became imperishable. Unlike the Spartans, who died in defeat, the British had held the Calais gate. Men who realized afterward the magnitude of the British effort, recalled what is perhaps the most familiar of all passages quoted from the prose writings of John Milton:[19a]

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam: purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly

[19a] From the *Aeropagitica*.



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GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

Made Premier of France on November 17, 1917, when 76 years old

radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means."

Ypres promised to remain for the British and the Canadians the greatest fact thus far in their experience of the war. Australians who came to Flanders in 1917 and in the last days of September rewon Zonnebeke and its surrounding woods, might in their history rank Ypres with Gallipoli. Ypres thus seemed assured of a place in British imperial history above all other battlefields. The solidarity of the empire Germany had sought to destroy was demonstrated at Ypres by sons from all the British lands in the Seven Seas. Beside Hill 304, or Dead Man's Hill, or the Douaumont plateau at Verdun, the Flemish ridges as ridges were nothing. Wytschaete, the highest, was barely 250 feet high, against 1,000 feet for Dead Man's Hill, and 1,300 for Douaumont; yet the Verdun hills were not more bitterly contested, or lost with more regret or recaptured with more satisfaction.

With the close of the year, as matters looked in later months when seen from afar, the Allied achievements of 1917 had been wanting in what could be called real success, except as to attrition. Germany had unquestionably suffered more heavily than the French and British—that is, she had lost more of what she could not so well afford to lose, in men, munitions, and the raw material from which munitions are made; but the French were showing weariness, if not a somewhat hopeless state of mind—temporary it might prove to be, but still existing—as to the ability of the Entente ever actually to win the war. The result was a change of ministry, by which on November 11 Georges Clemenceau became Prime Minister. Clemenceau was then approaching the octogenarian's age, and yet this old man "of the battered hat, the baggy clothes, the straggling moustache, of countenance as seamed as the trenched landscape of Picardy," almost as plain as Lincoln, but as hickory of fiber as Andrew Jackson was, in the last great crisis of his country had been called to lead, if not to become the prophet of his people, and to inspire them to sacrifice their bodies in order to keep their souls alive. Clemenceau had long been

filled with the wrath that stirs all righteous men when they face a gigantic wrong, and he knew, as none better knew, that on France had been laid the greatest burden. Geography and history had assigned to her the duty of opposing for 2,000 years a barbarism beyond the Rhine that had shown itself intractable even to primary education. Between the Alps, the Rhine and the sea lies a basin in which has occurred from time immemorial a fusion of the empiricism of the north and the idealism of the south; its population engaged in a never-ceasing duel, and always feeling the first blows delivered upon it by organized violence. Not the least eloquent of this man's war speeches to his countrymen contained the following passage:

"They are attempting a death-blow against my right to existence, against the virtue of the blood in my race, against my irrepressible need to advance through the course of ages, following the traditions and the principles of a history in which, through my fathers, I have had a part—a history which is not the least noble portion, perhaps, of the deeds of the human race.

"They are attempting a death-blow to the most radiant of the hopes that guide men through the perilous mazes of a destiny, the riddle of which is possibly in the fact that it is only what it is, but which is the more precious to me, nevertheless, on account of my attempts to honor it."

Once Clemenceau had taken office, and when politics had at times come to the surface to distract him, he was heard to cry out words that echoed through all France and were cabled across the Atlantic: "There must now be no politics for me; I make war." More to Clemenceau probably than to any other man, more to him certainly than to any other Frenchman, was due the elevation, four months later, of Ferdinand Foch to command the armies of all the Entente Allies.[20]

[20] Principal Sources: "Nelson's History of the War" by John Buchan, the "Military Expert" of The New York *Times*, Hugh B. C. Pollard's "Story of Ypres" (Robert M. McBride & Co.), The *Journal of Commerce* (New York), Associated Press dispatches; The *Evening Post*, The *World*, New York.

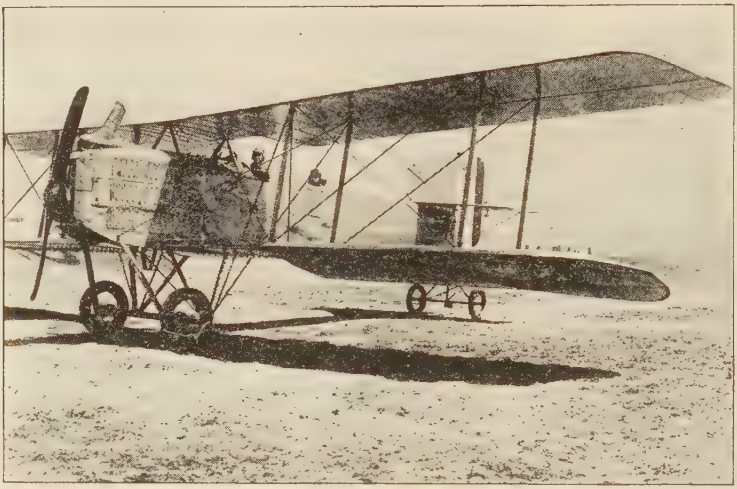
WHERE CLEMENCEAU LIVED IN NEW YORK

In this building on 12th Street, in the neighborhood now known as Greenwich Village, Clemenceau, as a young physician, opened an office in the late sixties. From this house he wrote letters to French newspapers, but went afterward to Stamford, Conn., where he taught in a ladies' seminary and was married

ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Part XIV

AIRPLANE EXPLOITS AND THE LAST ZEPPELIN RAIDS



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THE PILOTS OF A BREGUET MACHINE PREPARING FOR A LONG FLIGHT AT A BOMBING STATION

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SECRETARY BAKER VISITING AN AMERICAN AVIATION TRAINING CAMP

I

THE EXPLOITS OF CHAPMAN, PRINCE, ROCKWELL, GUYNEMER, MARCHAL, IMMELMANN, BOELKE, RICHTHOFEN, AND OTHERS

January 23, 1916—March 8, 1918

GERMANY for more than a year relied principally on Zeppelins in making aerial attacks on England, but on January 23 and January 24, 1916, hostile aircraft of another kind made notable raids on the east coast. Early in the morning of the 23d, an airplane dropt nine bombs on a Kentish town, killing one man, wounding two men, a woman and three children, and damaging some private property. Twelve hours later two airplanes made an attack on the same locality, but without effecting damage or causing casualties. British naval and military machines gave chase, but the raiders escaped. These were the first raids that had been made on England since October 13, 1915, when Zeppelins bombed the London district, killing and wounding more than 150 persons. The bright moonlight and the absence of wind made ideal conditions for the dash. The airplanes probably came from a German base in Belgium. On February 6 two women and one child were injured when two airplanes again raided the Kentish coast. Three missiles fell on the outskirts of Ramsgate and four near a school at Broadstairs. The material damage was confined to the shattering of glass. The attack was made in broad daylight. That afternoon two seaplanes had been seen approaching the Kentish coast, and a few minutes later flew over Ramsgate and Broadstairs. Of the four bombs dropt on Broadstairs all but one fell near property of Lord Northcliff. At Ramsgate six or eight bombs were dropt in rapid succession, all of which fell in fields between Ramsgate and Broadstairs.

Sergeant Pilot Guynemer, twenty-one years old, of the French Flying Corps, brought down, on February 7, his

fifth German adversary, and was mentioned for his exploit in an official communication. Previously he had been decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honor, the War Cross and the Military Medal. Guynemer was a lad in college when the war began and enlisted at once. At the end of seven days of training he made his trial flight for a pilot's license and afterward made a record for hunting German airplanes. In one instance he brought down, single-handed, a large German biplane. Guynemer made flights alone, as did Garros and Pégoud, but used a great biplane on which he could make ninety miles an hour instead of a monoplane. He put four machines out of business in nine days. One of these exploits occurred in December when he fought a spectacular duel directly over the French lines, his comrades-in-arms cheering him enthusiastically from below. He was engaged at that time with one of the famous Fokker airplanes. Altho there were two men aboard the Fokker, he maneuvered skilfully until he brought his gun in range. At fifteen yards he delivered a mortal blow from "The Old Charles," the name given to the biplane which Guynemer manipulated. He was armed with a weapon which he handled with remarkable facility and precision, at the same time that he maneuvered his airplane. Between his fourth and fifth successful duels he had a narrow escape in a fight with a Fokker. At the moment of firing, at a distance of thirty yards, his gun became jammed, the lubricating oil having frozen. In attempting a quick turn, he was carried on by the momentum until he struck the German machine with his upper plane and began to descend abruptly. After falling rapidly for 500 yards the biplane righted itself. Guynemer then returned to headquarters, but had missed his fifth machine. He accounted for it a few days later when his antagonist went to earth in flames after a short combat. Guynemer tho French was of Scottish extraction.

Contemporary with the battle of Verdun, in 1916, occurred an unusual amount of activity in aviation work. On February 26 nine French bombing aeroplanes traveled behind the German lines and dropt 114 bombs on the Metz-Sablons station, and on the same day another French air-squadron inflicted similar damage on German establishments at Chambley, north-

west of Pont-à-Mousson. On the last day of February a French military transport train was held up by a German aeroplane between Besançon and Jussey, and it was claimed that the crew of the aeroplane had successfully attacked with their machine-guns a convoy train. A day or so later French air-squadrons wrecked the stations at Chambley and Beusdorf and injured the German works at Avricourt, northeast of Lunéville. On March 7 sixteen French aeroplanes were again above the Metz-Sablons station, dealing out destruction on trains below. Attacked by a German aerial squadron the French aviators returned with the loss of one aeroplane, the engine of which had failed. On the 14th a squadron of eleven French aeroplanes bombed the station at Brieulles. A group of seventeen were again over the Metz-Sablons and also over the Conflans station on the 17th, while another squadron dropt five bombs on the station at Arneville and ten on the aerodrome of Dieuze. The aviation-ground of Habsheim and the freight station at Mulhausen were the objectives of twenty-eight French machines on the 18th. The Germans said they brought down four of the raiders.

On March 30 the stations of Metz-Sablons and Pagny-sur-Moselle were attacked, and on April 1 and 2 the station of Etain, the German bivouacs in the neighborhood of Nantillois, and the village of Azennes and Brieulles-sur-Meuse. As "a reprisal for the bombardment of Dunkirk by a Zeppelin," on the 2d, thirty-one Allied machines dropt eighty-three bombs of heavy caliber on the enemy cantonments of Keyem, Essen, Terrest, and Houthulst. On the night of the 23d–24th forty-eight bombs of heavy caliber were released over the station of Vifwege, east of the Forest of Houthulst, in the environs of Ypres, and places on the German lines of communication in the Verdun region received attention, twenty-one shells and eight incendiary bombs being dropt on the station of Longuyon, five shells on that of Stenay, twelve on the camps to the east of Dun and thirty-two shells on German establishments in the Montfaucon region, and on the station of Nantillois. Similar operations continued in succeeding weeks.

Guynemer had become the most notable destroyer of Ger-

man airmen of the Allies operating near Verdun. Starting on his daily hunt piloting a new and smaller aeroplane than usual, but a much swifter machine, he noticed two German aircraft sailing above him and placed himself behind one of them. When he judged the range suitable, he riddled the German with bullets and the German machine turned over and crashed to the ground. After this victory Guynemer swooped down on the second German aeroplane, but, misjudging his speed, through unfamiliarity with his machine, he forged ahead of the German after firing some seven or eight shots, which went wide. The German, who thus had the advantage, opened fire on the Frenchman and riddled his engine casing with bullets. Splinters struck Guynemer in the face, cutting somewhat deeply into his cheek and nose, while two bullets went through his left arm. Guynemer let himself drop like a stone for about 1,000 feet, so as to give his opponent the impression that he had brought him down, and the German, thinking the battle won, proceeded on his way. Meanwhile Guynemer recovered himself, and steering his machine with one hand, succeeded in landing within the French lines.

On March 18 Navarre scored his seventh German aeroplane. The same day an aerial engagement between British and German airmen took place near Ypres and La Bassée, and a German machine was brought down near Radinghem. On March 30 there was another encounter, when the British lost three machines. In the Champagne, on the 30th, the French airman, Doutrien, brought down a "Fokker," and the German, Lieutenant Immelmann, east of Bapaume, got the better of a British biplane, capturing its two occupants. On the 26th of April there were nineteen combats on the British front. A German two-seater aeroplane was attacked three times by a single-seater British machine at a great height. The enemy pilot was shot through the heart and the observer through the body. The German machine crashed to the earth, with the engine full on, from a height of 14,000 feet. One of the British reconnaissances was attacked by eight hostile aeroplanes, one of which was brought down. Two British machines were damaged, but all returned to their base. Events like these, notable at the

time, seemed small afterward in the light of airship work on the Western Front in 1918.

On March 20 fifty Allied airplanes attacked the German submarine base at Zeebrugge, Belgium, and works at Houltade. For two days air-battles constituted the greatest activity seen on the Western Front. In one raid against German towns in upper Alsace, two sky-fleets clashed in one of the most spectacular battles of the war. Four French airplanes and three German were brought down. The raid, in which a squadron of twenty-three French craft invaded

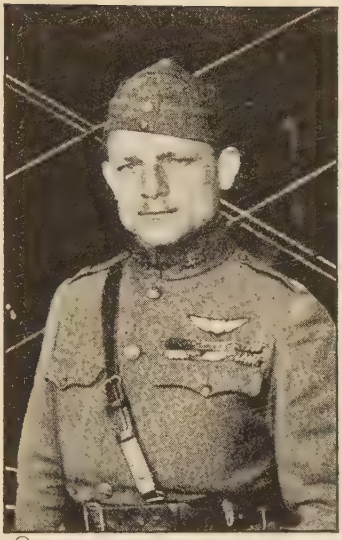
RELIGIOUS SERVICES AT THE FRONT
A chaplain for a pulpit has made use of the body of an aeroplane

upper Alsace and grappled with almost an equal number of German Taubes, furnished a thrilling spectacle. Two of the three German machines brought to earth were masses of flames as they crumpled up. The four French planes that were brought down were wrecked. Possibly twenty persons were killed, including seven civilians, and many more than that number were injured. The raid was directed for the greater part against Mülhausen, where seven were killed and thirteen hurt, and against Habsheim, just east, where one soldier was slain. A total of seventy-two shells were dropt. Several of the fighters were killed when their machines

crashed to earth. Another raid, made by the French about the same time, did heavy damage at Metz, Château Salins and Dieuze. Twenty powerful shells were hurled at the Metz station, and five were dropt on each of the other towns. Three civilians were wounded at Metz.

An upper Alsace raid had dramatic clashes from the moment the French planes soared above the Mülhausen station. In several minutes more than a score of German planes had risen to oppose the invaders. The occasion came when German aircraft were sent up in considerable groups to take note of the effect produced on French field-guns thickly massed there and the aircraft had to be dispersed. German tactics in the air resembled those in the field, their aim apparently being to overwhelm the adversary by numbers. When the Germans found the French were sending up men singly to observe the movements of troops and the positions of the artillery, they began sending men up in couples. The French then doubled their scouts, and the Germans quadrupled theirs. After the first week in March their flying squadrons never comprised less than ten machines, and often were numerically larger. Engagements at heights of 2,000 yards, in which a score of machines were employed, was the result. The losses increased in proportion on both sides. Guynemer one day was engaged with two German fliers at once, when one of his adversaries was observed to land so abruptly as to warrant the supposition that his machine was demolished. Meanwhile bullets from the enemy had put one of Guynemer's arms out of action, but he succeeded in getting back to his base by employing the other arm skilfully. While the Germans, in some of the engagements, had the advantage of numbers, French pilots appeared to outdo them in audacity. The French machines were equal in horizontal speed to all those of their adversaries except the newer types, and were quicker than any of them in getting into the air. On March 25 a squadron of British sea-planes attacked German airship sheds in the northern part of Schleswig-Holstein. Three of the British machines were brought down by German anti-aircraft guns and their occupants taken prisoner, while one of the convoying destroyers and two German patrol boats were sunk.

VICTOR CHAPMAN



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RAOUL LUFBERY

NORMAN PRINCE

KIFFIN ROCKWELL

AMERICAN AVIATORS KILLED IN FRANCE

While the French with artillery continued to make every effort to block the Germans from getting toward Verdun, their comrades in the air were no less busy. Stenay, Longuyon, Montfaucon and Nantillois, in the regions north of Verdun, and Vifwege, east of the Forest of Houthulst and northeast of Ypres, were raided by French airplanes in the third week of April. Twenty-one shells and eight incendiary bombs were dropt on the railway-station at Longuyon, while twenty-three miles north by east of Verdun five shells were dropt on the station at Stenay on the Meuse, twenty-five miles below Verdun, and twelve on bivouacs in the region of Montfaucon and the station at Nantillois. There were two air-raids on Vifwege, a small village about seven miles northeast of Ypres. French aerial squadrons during the day and night bombarded the railroad-station on two occasions. On the first thirty and on the second eighteen shells of large caliber were thrown down by aviators, and many reached their objectives. All the Allied airplanes returned unscathed.

Navarre early in May dropt a second manifesto behind the German lines challenging Lieutenant Immelmann, the "superhawk" of Germany, to an air duel for the championship of the world. This German flier, who had been credited with bringing down fifteen enemy airplanes, had ignored the first challenge, dropt from the sky a month before. Navarre, who had fourteen air-victories to his credit, in his second message informed Immelmann that he intended to make Immelmann's airplane his fifteenth. Navarre was a smooth-faced French youth who had by that time fought more than fifty air-duels. His methods were entirely different from those of Immelmann, who swooped down on his prey from a great height, shooting as he passed, but failing to return to the attack if the enemy airplane was not brought down. The French flier dashed straight for his enemy, circled him, worried him with a disconcerting fire and dived and dipt to avoid bullets. Navarre pursued if the enemy fled, gyrating like a bee over and above his enemy while his machine-gun kept popping. In 1915 Navarre had battled victoriously against five German airplanes, bringing down two and escaping unharmed. An official statement from

Paris on April 6 declared that thirty-five German airplanes had been destroyed in March and that only thirteen French aircraft were lost. These figures differed somewhat from the Berlin totals.

Lieutenant Immelmann's daring exploits had made his name known through Europe. He was killed during the third week of June, 1916, in a fall with his machine. His name was first mentioned in an official report from the German War Office on October 2, 1915, when he had shot down his fourth aeroplane. Immelmann had received various decorations, ending with the highest order, Pour le Mérite, when he disposed of his eleventh adversary. When he shot down his twelfth Emperor William wrote him an autograph letter of commendation. Before the Emperor had finished the letter the report came that the Lieutenant had bagged his thirteenth adversary. The Emperor crossed out the word twelfth and substituted thirteenth, saying: "One can not write as fast as Immelmann shoots." Immelmann was a native of Dresden, born in 1890. Some newspapers compared him with Captain Otto Weddigen, the submarine commander, who gained fame by sinking three British cruisers in the North Sea, and later met his death on the submarine U-20.

France now possest an aeroplane that had beaten the world's records for speed. It was made at Blériot's factories at Suresnes, near Paris. The Fokker had been described as a hawk; the new French machine in comparison was a swallow, a graceful, almost frail-looking biplane, and was called a "spad"—the word having been derived from the initial letters of the Société pour l'Aviation et Dérivés. The spad climbed rapidly and smoothly and could attain a speed of more than 125 miles an hour. The Fokker's speed was 100 miles an hour. On account of its swiftness, the spad could be entrusted only to the most expert pilots, because, altho its speed could be reduced a little, only the most skilful airmen could alight without smashing it.

Georges Boillot, an automobile racer and aeronaut, was killed in a fight with five German aeronauts during the same month, but before the bullet hit him he had brought down one of the German machines. Boillot had served

earlier in the war as chauffeur for General Joffre and had taken up aviation as a sport rather than in the business of war, and won the Grand Prix of the Automobile Club. After a particularly narrow escape in riding with Boillot, Joffre had announced his intention to make a change of chauffeur, not so much because of the danger he was subjected to, as because the General liked to sleep during his dashes along the battle-front. Boillot in consequence went to the Aviation Corps. Boillot's name had been mentioned constantly as the driver for Joffre. Communications and articles on the General often mentioned how his chauffeur sped from one end of the line to the other in the critical days before and during the battle of the Marne. He broke all records in delivering despatches and messages. At one time he was surrounded by a regiment of German soldiers, and escaped death by riding through them at a terrific rate of speed. Once he crossed France in a single day, and again was on the point of establishing a speed record between Joffre's headquarters and the town of Pontarlier, when, as he neared the latter place, he was stopt by the police and he and his companions were detained forty-eight hours under suspicion as spies.

Three Americans, Norman Prince, Kiffin Rockwell, and Clyde Balsley, with a French squadron captain, put up a thrilling fight in the third week of June against forty German airplanes, including fifteen of the latest Aviatiks, or German airplanes, which were faster than the French Nieuports, and carried a passenger to maneuver the rear and flanking fire of a mitrailleuse in addition to the pilot's gun forward. The battle took place over the German lines before Verdun, where the Americans were ordered to protect a squadron of slow artillery observation planes. The four Nieuports had barely reached the appointed position when the Germans appeared in regular formation. Despite the odds, the quartet singled out the nearest German on whom to concentrate their fire. When evidently hard hit, the German machine began to fall in a zigzag toward the French lines, with the Americans pursuing it. But the maneuver proved dangerous, as the rest of the German fleet, utilizing their superior height, swooped like hawks upon the little

group. Apparently riddled by bullets, Balsley and Prince capsized and fell headlong. The French Captain, thinking them finished, signaled to Rockwell for full-speed home. Prince, however, managed to right his machine a scant 300 feet from the ground, just above the French trenches, where he succeeded in grounding safely by a swift volplane to the field half a mile from the firing-line. Altho the machine had holes in several places, the airman had nothing worse than a bullet through his leather helmet. Balsley was less fortunate, but had an equally miraculous escape from death. Wounded in the hip by an explosive bullet, he fell upside down, thought himself doomed, but, held in the straps, was able to right his machine enough to land right side up, altho the crash was so violent as to smash the plane and momentarily stun the pilot. The Texan's luck held further, for he grounded behind the French communication trenches, whence help was forthcoming.

While the battle of Verdun was still raging on June 22 and with varying fortunes, the war in the air was going on near that region of the front on a scale surpassing any previous operations by aviators in a single day. Trèves, in Rhenish Prussia, more than 70 miles from the battlefront; Carlsruhe, capital of the Grand Duchy of Baden, more than 85 miles behind the German lines, and Mulheim, across the Rhine in Baden, were all visited in a single day by French air-squadrons, and, in the case of Trèves, with disastrous results. In addition to these raids (all three cities had been raided before, but no two at the same time), there was air-fighting at many points along the battle-front in which four German airplanes were shot down. One French machine was lost in the operations. These raids were made in retaliation for German raids on Bar-le-Duc and Lunéville. Eighteen bombs were dropt on Trèves, and the report said "a great fire broke out." Carlsruhe was attacked by nine airplanes, which dropt forty shells. Ten more paid a call at Mulheim, dropping fifty shells. The last squadron encountered a squadron of Fokkers on its return, and in the fight one of the Germans was shot down and one of the French compelled by motor-trouble to land. The other German planes reported shot down were: one at Lamorville by

Sub-Lieut. Nungesser (his eighth), one south of Lihons by Sergt. Chainat and Sub-Lieut. Guynemer attacking simultaneously. Chainat had previously shot down four and Guynemer nine Germans. The remaining German was shot down by artillery fire north of Lunéville. A fight was also reported between a French air-squadron and some Germans who tried to raid villages in the Meuse Valley. Two German machines were brought down by one Frenchman. French machines raided several German communication points in Lorraine, north and east of Verdun.

The first American airman to die for France was Sergeant Victor E. Chapman, son of John Jay Chapman, a lawyer of New York and a well-known writer. He was shot dead over the German lines before Verdun in a fight with two Aviatiks. Chapman was studying architecture at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris when the war began. He had enlisted in the Foreign Legion at the outbreak of hostilities, was transferred to the aviation division in the summer of 1915, and had joined the American escadrille near Verdun six weeks before his death. He had already had seven machines shot under him and had sent down four Germans, all falling within their lines, when late on June 23 he started on a trip over the front, where he found Norman Prince engaged hotly with five Aviatiks, and immediately flew to the rescue. Chapman was attacked by two aviators, one behind and one before, and was killed in mid-air. He was dead before the machine reached the ground. The Germans continued to riddle the falling machine, and had shot away its wings before it landed.

For months Chapman's name had appeared frequently in dispatches as one of the most brilliant of the aviators composing the Franco-American Flying Corps. When John Jay Chapman, then at his country home in Barrytown, N. Y., was told that his son had been killed, he said, "My son's life was given in a good cause." Mr. Chapman had said before, "If Victor is killed in battle, I am resigned. I am proud that he joined the French Army, and I think that every American boy ought to do the same." Chapman was in his twenty-seventh year. He had then served about five months with a machine-gun detachment of the American Legion. He

was wounded after the first month's fighting, and on recovery was assigned to the flying corps as a reward for bravery in the field. He served first as a pupil, then as an observer, and finally became pilot, being rated as one of the best in the service.

All reports indicated that the struggle for mastery of the air on the Western Front had reached a pitch of intensity unprecedented during the war. After the battle of the Somme began the French and English employed swarms of fighting-airplanes to break up the German aerial reconnaissance, which was greatly favored by the terrain, as French troop movements and the drawing together of huge masses of ammunition supplies were easily spotted by German fliers on the rolling plain of Picardy with its little villages and lack of woods. Germans praised the daring of French fliers, which was proved by the extraordinary number of twenty-two that were shot down behind the German front, but contended that the Fokker fliers established new records of superiority over French fighting airplanes in a ratio exceeding two to one.

Battles were being fought with increasing frequency by July 10, not only among men at the front, but far to the rear, as a result of the French and English air-raids on German lines of communication. Every night when weather conditions permitted, French squadrons were in action, trying to drop bombs on railways, bridges, and spots behind the German front, short bright nights particularly favoring these excursions. Early dawn became a favorite time in which to drop bombs. Eye-witnesses described squadrons as sailing in close formation on the straightest possible course toward their goal. Most of the airplanes were loaded with bombs and convoyed by fighting airplanes to check the German Fokker fighters. When under way, German fliers were divided into small groups, and after finishing a job, returned home singly. German correspondents unanimously reported that little serious damage was inflicted by these night raids.

Lieutenant Marchal, of the French Corps, in June left French soil and flew over Berlin, where he dropt proclamations, and then continued his flight, intending to land within Russian lines, but was forced to descend in Joland, where he was taken prisoner by Austrians. An official com-

munication given out in Paris on July 24 described his extraordinary achievement:

"On June 20 at 9.30 o'clock in the evening, Sub-Lieutenant Marchal ascended at Nancy on board a Nieuport monoplane of a special type, taking with him a supply of fuel sufficient to last fourteen hours. His mission was to cross Germany at a low altitude in order to drop proclamations on the capital at Berlin and then to descend in Russian. This audacious flight was accomplished point by point, and, after flying all night, Lieutenant Marchal was compelled to descend at 8.30 in the morning of June 21, near Chelm, Russian Poland, at least 100 kilometers (62 miles) from the Russian lines. He was made a prisoner. The proclamation which Lieutenant Marchal dropt on Berlin began with the words: 'We could bombard the open town of Berlin and thus kill the women and innocent children, but we are content to throw only the following proclamations.'"

Marchal, in the course of his journey, covered in continuous flight a distance of about 1,300 kilometers (807 miles), most of which he traveled during the night His proclamation, besides the words above quoted, contained remarks on the "causes of the war and the principal reasons why the Allies are bound to win." Not so much the boldness of his flight through a hostile country, as the remarkable humanity and good sense of his system of bombardment, invited many to approve and admire him.

Captain Boelke, of the German Flying Corps, on September 10 had reached a total of twenty-two Allied flyers brought down. His twentieth "bag" was Captain Wilson, of the Royal Flying Corps, attached to a division stationed near Pozières. Wilson was flying over the German lines when Boelke rose to meet him. Boelke outguessed, out-maneuvered and out-shot the Englishman, who dropt to the ground safely after having a wing broken. Boelke landed near him, and in surrendering Wilson asked for the name of his captor. "Boelke," replied the German. The chagrin and humiliation of defeat and capture were lost for a moment to the Englishman, who put out his hand and, as Boelke shook it, said: "If I had to be shot down I'm pleased that it should have been by so good a man." Wilson was sent back to Cambrai, and the next day Boelke invited him to lunch at

the officers' mess, where the captured flyer exprest his appreciation of the exceptional treatment he had received, and told of the high regard in which the English held the German flyers. That night he was sent to a German prison-camp. Boelke was a good-looking young chap of twenty-five, thin, wiry, of the quick, graceful type usually associated with airmen.[1]

Kiffin Rockwell, the American aviator, brought down his fourth German airplane in September, and so was only one short of the number that would rank him among stars of the air service like Guynemer and Nungesser, who were now chronicled by name in French bulletins after each success. Flying near Verdun at about 3,000 meters, Rockwell attacked a double-seated German airplane just beneath him. He killed the gunner with his first volley, and probably wounded the pilot, for the machine immediately began to descend in a circular spiral. Rockwell plunged in pursuit, caught up with the German at 1,800 meters, and riddled him with bullets. He saw him fall near the trench-lines. In the act of descending to verify the result, the American was attacked from above by two Fokkers. A swift turn which "banked" his Nieuport almost vertically saved his life. He tried to maneuver to engage each foe separately, but, after a brief fight, finding his ammunition exhausted, decided to retreat, and succeeded in escaping unhurt. On September 23 Rockwell came to his death, mortally wounded by a German airman, over the town of Thann. His body fell in reconquered territory near the spot where Rockwell, who was from Atlanta, Georgia, had shot down his first adversary five months before.

Rockwell, at the time of his death, was serving as a volunteer in the Franco-American Flying Corps on the Verdun front. A few hours prior to his last engagement he had been promoted to the rank of second lieutenant, but died without knowing of the new honor. He already had received the Military Medal for shooting down a German two-seater near Hartmansweiler-Kopf. He had beaten down another before Verdun and had participated in a thrilling combat with a strong German force. Sergeant Rockwell was one of

[1] Herbert Bayard Swope in The *World* (New York).

the first American volunteers to join the Foreign Legion. He was regarded in French aviation circles as an "ace," a name given to the most skilful and daring pilots. Lieutenant William Thaw, of Pittsburgh, before he was wounded, and Rockwell, made a formidable fighting pair. They frequently were in the air together and always chasing an adversary. Rockwell had fought thirty-four air battles since recovering from his last wound, or an average of more than one a day. When he met his death he was returning from a bombing expedition of which he was one of the fighting-machines that furnished the escort.

The one absorbing topic in Paris on September 25 was a series of successful airplane raids in German territory. No fewer than 56 combats were fought by French airmen in a single day, during which four German machines were destroyed and six others badly damaged. Next day French airmen fought 29 combats and brought down ten German machines, while seven others were damaged. Guynemer, in one flight, brought down his seventeenth and eighteenth machines. Two French airmen performed the astounding feat of flying to Essen, the seat of the Krupp works, where they bombarded this main center of Germany's gun and ammunition supply. The airmen were Captain de Beauchamp and Lieutenant Daucourt, who traveled over 500 miles of German territory in daylight, launched twelve bombs, in spite of being fired on by anti-aircraft guns, and returned safely to their own lines. For the first time two airplanes, with a full load of bombing material, had covered a distance of 250 miles. The Allies lost many machines, however, in the course of September. Britain's list was 74 for the month.

On September 29 more than twoscore German, French, and British airplanes met with disaster. Paris reported that French airmen, in battles in the air with Germans in France, had accounted for twenty-six airplanes, while Berlin recorded the bringing down of twenty-four Allied machines, twenty of them on the Somme front. Weather conditions late in September were exceedingly advantageous for aerial operations and air-corps on both sides were busy. The French War Office recorded the destruction of twenty-

three German airplanes. On the Somme front alone, there were twenty-nine combats. The British report said that five German airplanes had been destroyed, making a total of twenty-eight. Berlin reported the destruction of twenty-four Allied airplanes. On September 27, Sub-Lieutenant Nungesser, whose exploits had made him the best known of the French aerial fighters and the rival of the German, Boelke, outdid his previous achievements by bringing down two German machines and a captive balloon. This brought up to seventeen the number of aircraft destroyed by this aviator.

Norman Prince, who originally was from Beverly Farms, Mass., died on October 14 in a French field-hospital of injuries received in a fall with his airplane, when both his legs were broken. He was a nephew of Dr. Morton Prince, of Boston, who at the time of Norman's death was in Paris. Frederick H. Prince, father of the aviator, lay at the same time dangerously ill at his home in Massachusetts, stricken with typhoid fever. News of his son's death was withheld from him through fear that the announcement might have serious consequences. Frederick Prince, Jr., elder brother of the aviator and himself a member of the American corps, was at his brother's bedside when the end came. Prince was the third of the Franco-American Flying Corps to meet death within a few months, Chapman, on June 23, Rockwell, on September 23. Prince was a graduate of Harvard University, practising law in Chicago when the war started, but he gave up his practise and went to France, where he was soon attached to the French aviation service. He had been decorated for gallant and distinguished service and mentioned a number of times in dispatches for activity in air-fighting. He was considered a brilliant and courageous pilot.

A largely attended memorial service for Prince was held in the American Episcopal Church in Paris where the French Government was represented by Colonel Vallière and several of the Sergeant's comrades in the flying corps who had left the firing-line and attended the service, as did several French aviators. The death of Prince was a fresh reminder of the extent to which America was already represented in the world-struggle. Within a few weeks three young men, Chapman, Rockwell, and Prince, had lost their lives. These

young Americans had gone to the front in the spirit and temper of Crusaders, having had an eager and compelling desire to serve the cause of Democracy as menaced by Prussian militarism.

Captain Boelke, the famous German aviator, in the course of an air-flight on October 28, came into collision with an enemy airplane and was killed, and his machine was landed within the German lines. The day before he had shot down his fortieth adversary. Boelke had been the most spectacular figure among thousands of aviators flying at the front. He had seemed to bear a charmed life. As late as September it had been reported that he had escaped almost certain death on five different occasions when his airplanes were almost shot from under him. Boelke started in the Imperial Flying Corps as an observer, later becoming a pilot. His steady eye, sure nerves, and courage soon sent him to the fighting detachment of the service, where his duties were to meet and fight off French and English battle-planes and reconnaissance-machines. In this he was more successful than any other aviator. He always flew alone, managing his machine and its gun by himself. Boelke was a native of Dessau, and had taken up aviation in peace times as a sport.

Official figures for 1916, announced in Berlin, claimed that German aviators had been victors in a majority of the aerial battles on all fronts, and that Germany had lost fewer battle-planes than her antagonists. The total losses of airplanes on both sides during 1916 were said to have been 1,005. Of these the Entente forces lost 784, the Germans 221. On the West Front alone both sides lost 920, and of these 180 were German war-planes. Guynemer had brought down his twenty-sixth German airplane, which fell in flames in the vicinity of Maurepass in the Verdun region.

Germany produced one superman of the air in Lieutenant Baron von Richthofen, who came into prominence early in 1917 when he had brought down his fifty-second airplane, the greatest number at that time brought down by any aviator of any army. The nearest rival so far as known was Guynemer, who was believed to have shot down forty German machines. Richthofen, until 1917, had been comparatively unknown. His rise began soon after the death of

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A BRITISH AIRMAN'S FIGHT WITH GERMANS

Eight German machines in all were encountered in this battle, which was fought on the Western Front at a height of 500 feet. The Englishman was A. W. Hammond. He shot three of the Germans down out of control, and after being wounded and having his machine take fire, effected a safe landing

Captain Boelke, in October, 1916, when Boelke's bag was forty machines. The Germans reported on April 31 that the Allies in two days had lost thirty-four machines and three balloons. According to Paris and London, thirty-one German machines were driven down.

Fighting had taken on an entirely new interest in the spring of 1917 because of a German fashion of painting machines in grotesque patterns. British pilots brought home from over the lines reports of many such fantastic creations which they had encountered in the clouds. Feathered songsters that were coming north with the spring could not have rivaled the variegated hues of Harlequin birds that rose daily from German airdromes. First among these creatures was a squadron of scarlet planes. Then came machines striped about the body like yellow-jackets. Nothing was too gaudy to meet the taste of German airmen. There were green planes with gold noses, khaki-colored planes with greenish-gray wings, planes with red body and wings of green on top of blue, planes with light blue body and red wings. The gaudiest machines went in for red body-effects with every possible combination of color on their wings, some having one green wing and one white, and some green wings tipped with various colors. One of the most fantastic had a scarlet body, brown tail, and reddish-brown wings, with white Maltese crosses against a bright green background. Another looked like a pear flying through the air, with its pear-shaped tail painted a ruddy brown, like big ripe fruit.

Captain Albert Ball, a famous British aviator, was reported in June as killed. Captain Ball had won international reputation as an accomplished airman. Captain Ball, like Guynemer, was only twenty-one years of age. Once, after flying across the Channel, he passed over the British lines and attacked German airmen, bringing down two in a fight at 15,000 feet. In his last fight he was set upon by six of the enemy's best fighting machines. He brought down one and damaged two others seriously, but more than these appeared on the scene, when he was cut off from his comrades of the squadron and ultimately forced down.

There came to London on June 14 the nearest vision of

modern warfare that it had yet known. A squadron of German airplanes, variously estimated at from three to fifteen, bombed the East End and business districts of the City in daylight, killing 97 persons and injuring 437. Many of the victims were women and children, 120 of the latter being either killed or injured. The Zeppelin raids had come in the darkness and mystery of night. This raid was different since it came in the loveliness of a perfect summer's day, when the sky was blue and clear. The airplanes journeyed through the clouds like little silver birds, and their passage was watched by thousands of men and women. Then suddenly came, in swift succession, several tremendous crashes. From every shop, office, warehouse, and tea-room, men and women stood still, gazing up into the air. It was not easy to believe that those little silver specks far up in the heavens had the power to bring death and destruction and unendurable suffering to men and women and little children living at peace. Few people saw the entire fleet of Taubes at one and the same time. It seemed as if they were playing hide-and-seek in the clouds, for like little gleaming bits of quicksilver you could see one suddenly appear, only to vanish as quickly behind a filmy cloud-mist, while another emerged to lose itself as swiftly in the shadows. One could see the sharp white flames of bursting shrapnel, while bombs were falling and guns making great noises. It all happened in a quarter of an hour.

The most daring air raid yet carried out against the great Krupp munition works at Essen occurred in the first week of July, when Sergeant Maxime Gallois defied all the German anti-aircraft defenses and bombarded the heart of the German armament-producing factories with high explosives, crossed the German front line twice, flew over many Rhenish cities, and reached home unscathed. The whole flight lasted seven hours, during which Gallois was guided by the moon and stars and a compass. The voyage was made in the darkest hours of night. He flew at an altitude of 1,200 meters, and passed over Metz and Thionville, following the course of the Moselle. Batteries fired at him when crossing the Rhine, and as he passed over Metz searchlights played about the sky. He saw the reflection of the moon on the

Rhine and could identify Bonn. From there to Dusseldorf was a regular sea of electricity, which increased as he got further north. Cologne was a blaze of luminosity, and at Dusseldorf there were all kinds of lights, blue, red, and white. All the time the anti-aircraft guns fired as he passed. Around Cologne gunners were very accurate in their range.

Arriving over Essen he rose to about 2,000 meters, circled around, searching for a place where the lights from the workshops appeared densest. Then he threw the first bomb. After counting ten he dropt the second, and then the remainder of the ten at similar intervals. It was impossible to distinguish their effect, owing to the flaming furnace chimneys. He came back exactly the same way as he went, and was fired at many times. He managed to land just at dawn at the same place from which he had started. Gallois said he drank "alcoholized coffee" and ate some sandwiches and chocolate during his flight. He landed almost blind from the pressure of the wind on his eyes, having lost his goggles early in the flight.

On July 7 twenty machines bombed London at 9.30 o'clock in the morning, killing 37 persons and injuring 141. Three German airplanes were brought down at sea on their return trip. British airmen at Dunkirk prepared to intercept others, but they took a more northerly route. Dunkirk flyers, however, in the course of their patrol, brought down seven of another German squadron. For a period of perhaps a quarter of an hour, the airplanes hovered over the metropolitan area, dropping cargoes of bombs in full view of millions of spectators. Never in the world's history, probably, had any battle on land or in air been waged in sight of so many people. Several hours before some weighty French airplanes made raids into Germany in reprisal for German attacks on open French towns. Sixty-seven thousand pounds of bombs were dropt at many points of military importance. Only two machines failed to return. The principal centers visited were Trèves, Essen and Coblenz. Eleven raided Trèves, dropping over 5,000 pounds of bombs. Seven fires broke out, one of which was in the Central Station. Six other machines attacked Ludwigshafen, destroying among other things the Badische aniline factory. Other places

bombarded were Hirson, Trionville, Dun-sur-Meuse, Bantheville, Machault, and Cauroy.

Nearly one hundred persons were killed and more than four hundred injured in a bomb-dropping raid on London's East End, where live the poorer classes of the population. Ten of those killed and fifty of the wounded were children in a school. A large number of the killed or injured were women and children. The Germans were flying at a height estimated at two miles. No damage of a military or naval nature was done. For fiendishness of purpose and in the ghastly toll of innocent women, children, and old men, Germany's raid was the most murderous of all the aerial attacks which England had seen. Most of those injured suffered terribly from acid-fluids contained in many of the bombs. Tiny children and women writhed in hospital-beds from great burns caused by these murderous missiles. Out of its indignation and horror the British public found time to smile over reports printed in Berlin newspapers, that the British Government was preparing to move from London on account of the frequency of various air-raids. All Government buildings for many months had been amply protected against air-bombs.

Hindenburg's answer to the British victory east of Arras at Messines Ridge in June, 1917, had been to send fifteen airplanes over the tenement district of London and, to kill and wound more than 500 non-combatants. As it was then necessary to win a counter-victory to restore the credit of Hindenburg's word, what was called "the great battle of the tenement district schoolhouse" was ordered and fought. Since the beginning of hostilities, 366 persons had been killed and 1,092 injured by air-raids in the London metropolitan area. During the same period, 2,412 persons had been killed and 7,863 injured in ordinary street accidents in the same territory.

Two raids on London by aircraft within a few hours occurred on the night of August 21, on the northeast and southeast seaboard. The first was by Zeppelins, a number of which approached the Yorkshire coast, altho only one, or at the most two, ventured overland. Twelve high explosives and thirteen incendiary bombs were dropt on three small

villages near the coast. A chapel was wrecked, and several houses were damaged. One man was injured. Next morning ten airplanes appeared on the coast of Kent and dropt bombs on Dover, Margate, and Ramsgate. There were no casualties at Margate, but at Dover and Ramsgate eleven persons were killed and thirteen injured. A hospital and some houses were damaged. England was twice attacked by German air-raiders on September 4. The first attack spent most of its force upon the naval station at Chatham, where 108 persons were killed and 92 wounded. All the victims, except one killed and six injured, were sailors and non-commissioned officers. In the second attack both the southeast coast and the London districts were bombarded. The raiding squadrons in both cases were made up of airplanes.

On September 25 it was learned that Guynemer, the French aviator, had been killed in battle, probably in a reconnaissance flight over Flanders. He had left Dunkirk on September 11 and nothing had been heard of him since. Guynemer had attained world-wide fame by his exploits. Experts considered him perhaps the most brilliant aviator of the war. He had been last cited in an official French announcement on September 10. Guynemer was twenty-one years old. The feeling of his countrymen for him was shown when, carrying the flag of the aviation group, he marched in a parade in Paris at the celebration of the French national holiday in July, 1917, during which he was greeted with wild outbursts of cheering and covered with flowers thrown by women and children.

Guynemer had frequently been asked to go to the rear, place his talents as an inventor and his vast experience in war flying at the disposal of the air administration, but invariably he refused, being unable to bring himself to give up the fascinating, adventurous life of an air-fighter. He was credited in army aviation records with having shot down fifty-three planes inside German lines and with having destroyed at least twenty-five more that were uncounted. His greatest work was done on May 17, 1917, when he brought down four German machines, two of which he accounted for in the space of two minutes, having attacked

a group of four. With only three cartridges left, while on his homeward flight, he encountered the fourth German and shot him down with one of the three remaining cartridges.

Fifty-three German machines officially credited to Guynemer's record were worth something more than 1,500,000 francs. Some of them were manned by two or three men. It was estimated that he accounted for more than eighty pilots, observers, and gunners. His last fight took place some four or five miles inside the German lines northeast of

BRITISH OFFICIAL PHOTO.

GRAVES OF BRITISH AVIATORS IN FRANCE
Several of these graves are marked with damaged propellers

Ypres and opposite the British lines. His success was due largely to his marksmanship, his ability to fire on the instant he was ready. It was this wonderful coordination of eye and finger that enabled him to fell three German fliers in 150 seconds, the greatest military feat ever performed in the air, a deed after which, with one plane wing wrecked by a shell, he fell 10,000 feet and escaped. He had the instinct of strategy and used every form of attack; straight firing at the enemy's level, the sudden dash from behind the corner

of a cloud, the hawk-like swoop in which he sent bullets as he dropt like a plummet, and the impudent assault just above German trenches. With feints and lunges he once drove an enemy machine to earth inside the French lines when the German plane had a crew of three men and a gun, while Guynemer was alone and his gun was jammed and useless. To have seen three years of war from the wide blue, to have done more than any other single soldier to blind the German, to have worn on his breast every medal that France gives to her brave—Guynemer could have asked no more except, very likely, to die for his country. He was well described as a D'Artagnan, with the face of a woman and the heart of a Frenchman.[2]

The strongest air attack so far attempted on London and the coast towns by the Germans was carried out on October 1 by four groups of hostile airplanes. Some of the machines got through to London and bombed the southwestern district. A terrific barrage was sent up from the defense guns, and the roar of battle lasted intermittently for two and a half hours. The Germans bombed coast towns as they passed over and proceeded toward London. Two of the groups succeeded in getting a number of machines through the sky barrage. Numerous bombs were dropt on the southwestern district, which was thickly populated with the homes of the upper and middle classes. The fire from the defending guns became longer and louder than ever before. A rain of shrapnel fell in all sections of the town, and the streets were virtually deserted save for a few police.

The failure of an early morning raid on London on November 1 was proof, notwithstanding the journalistic outcry to the contrary, of the efficiency of London's defenses. Only three of thirty airplanes succeeded in reaching the heart of the city. Despite mist and many light clouds, which gave them an excellent chance of concealment, they were forced from their course in an effort to avoid salvos from anti-aircraft batteries. Most people were abed when police whistles gave the alarm. There was some hasty dressing and scurrying to lower floors and other places of safety, but a majority of Londoners stayed abed and took the raid liter-

[2] The *Sun* (New York).

ally lying down. Eight persons were killed and twenty-one others were injured. About thirty airplanes in seven groups took part. Apparently the raid was the most elaborate attempt to "lay London in ruins" ever made by the Germans. That it was a failure was due to the new air defenses, which, with the gunfire of airplanes, broke up the hostile squadrons.

American aviators by November 14 had dropt bombs on Germany. Some of the Allied airplanes on night raids carried Americans along as bombers, and they dropt bombs upon the dimly seen lights of factories, railroad stations and military depots. These aviators were not a part of the Lafayette Escadrille, which had just been transferred from the French army to the American, but were old American Army aviators, some of whom had been in Mexico. Paris, for the first time in several months, was subjected to a German air-raid on January 30, when a number of German machines dropt fourteen tons of bombs. Considerable damage was done and some twenty persons were killed. One of the raiding machines was brought down.

On March 8 another air-raid was made on London, the Germans being aided by the aurora borealis which brilliantly illuminated the northern heaven. Seven or eight airplanes crossed the east coast. Anti-aircraft fire was heavy and the machines were at first driven back, but others, attacking from the south, managed to penetrate as far as the metropolis and dropt bombs. No objects of military importance were damaged, but eleven persons were killed and forty-six injured.

On March 11 four German machines were brought down and fifteen trained aviators, mechanics and pilots were killed or made prisoner in an air attack on Paris. The raid was attempted on a scale hitherto unapproached, nine squadrons participating. Some of the machines followed the rivers Oise and Ourcq, while others came along the Crell-Paris and Soissons-Paris railroads. The percentage of units that succeeded in reaching Paris was small. Aerial defenses had improved greatly since former raids. Many German machines were forced back and obliged to drop their cargoes of bombs in vacant fields in Paris suburbs. While the raid was in progress, French machines executed a counter air-

offensive on the enemy's airdromes from which the German raiders had started. More than three tons of bombs were dropt on landing fields.

On March 13 British airplanes attacked munitions works and barracks at Freiburg, in the Black Forest, nearly ten tons of bombs being dropt. Great Britain was now quite ready for air-raid reprisals on Germany. War-planes of every type were being produced by the British and French in far greater numbers than by the Central Powers. The Allies were equipped for aggressive aerial warfare on a great scale. Germany, defeated on the battlefield and balked in her submarine campaign, had reached a state of impotent rage. She was striking England wherever she could through non-combatants, including women and children. One week later Ludendorff launched his great offensive in the west. Airplanes played a great part in defeating him, Allied superiority in the air having become very great.[3]

[3] Principal Sources: The Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger;* The *Times,* The *World,* The *Tribune,* The *Sun,* New York; Associated Press dispatches.

CAPTAIN BOELKE

Boelke was among the most celebrated of German airmen, and respected among his enemies because of sportsmanlike qualities

II

THE END OF ZEPPELIN RAIDS—COUNT VON ZEPPELIN'S DEATH

August 25, 1916—May 25, 1917

NEW and monstrous super-Zeppelins were reported as under construction in Germany early in 1916. The principal features of the craft were described as a capacity of 2,000,000 cubic feet, a length of 780 feet, a beam of eighty feet, great cruising speed, and a radius of action of 3,000 miles. The engines, six or seven of them, had a total of 15,000 horse-power. They could carry five tons of bombs and were able to ascend 17,000 feet. They were armed with machine-guns at the bow and stern, and above the envelope, and carried a crew of thirty-five men. Two of these new craft had been completed by the end of August and four were to be available in October—such were the reports, but not fully confirmed.

Eight persons were killed and 36 injured in a Zeppelin raid of England on August 25, 1916. One hundred bombs were dropt. On September 2 thirteen Zeppelins visited England, but only three got near the outskirts of London, and one was shot down about fifteen miles north of the city. The casualties officially reported were two dead and eleven injured. The Victoria Cross was bestowed on Lieutenant Leete Robinson, of the Royal Flying Corps, for bringing down the particular Zeppelin referred to. The award of the Cross gave general satisfaction, and Robinson's name was on everybody's tongue. His feat was described as follows by himself:

"I had been up something over an hour when I saw the first Zeppelin. She was flying high and I followed her, climbing to get position above, but there was a heavy fog and she escaped me. I attacked her at long range, but she made off before I could see if I had done any damage. The next ship I saw I determined that I would attack from the first available position. I met her just after two o'clock. She was flying at 10,000 feet. Soon she appeared

to catch fire in her forward petrol tank. The flames spread rapidly along her body as she made off eastward on fire. In a few minutes she dipt by the nose and dived slowly in flames to the earth. I was so pleased that in my excitement I pulled the 'joystick' and looped the loop several times. Then I showed my signal to stop firing and came back."

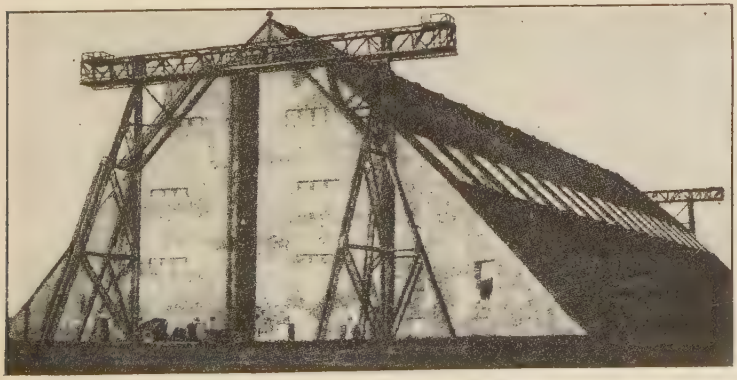
This air-raid was by far the most formidable that the Germans had made so far on England. Something like it had been awaited for a long time, the general opinion being that the smaller raids of August and the last week of July had been mainly experimental. Renewed activity on a great scale was expected as the nights lengthened. The damage now done was relatively small. Altho thirteen airships were engaged in the raid and many bombs dropt, the casualties amounted only to two killed and thirteen injured. In a Zeppelin raid in January sixty-seven persons had been killed and a hundred injured. In the raids of March 31 to April 2 nearly two hundred and fifty were killed or injured.

The successful manner in which the latest raids on London had been dealt with acted as a restraint on demands made for exceptional treatment of the airmen captured. After one of the earliest raids on the English coast, a coroner's jury had found a verdict of "wilful murder" against those concerned in it. The popular outcry for resprisals was so loud in those days of unlimited submarine-slaughter that the Government yielded to it and dealt with the officers of enemy submarines as if they were not regular prisoners of war. But prisoners were now to be treated after the manner of other prisoners of war. The bodies of men who fell in airship raids received an orderly, Christian burial.

On September 7, with impressive ritual, but shorn of some of the customary features, the sixteen bodies of the men recovered at Cuffley from the wreckage of an airship were interred at Potter's Bar. Thus the traditions of the British army were maintained in doing honor to an enemy. A hundred officers and men of the Royal Flying Corps stood silent and motionless while two buglers sounded "The Last Post." The sun of a perfect afternoon shone on a scene which presented striking contrasts. Within the burial enclosure, to which only a limited number of parishioners

were admitted in addition to military, there was perfect quiet. In the public thoroughfare outside there was the hum of a thousand voices and occasional cries from itinerant vendors of souvenirs. An airplane was seen in the distance. As the bodies of the dead were committed to the grave, there could be heard the throbbing strokes of its engine. Splendid order was maintained. Over 1,000 members of the Metropolitan Constabulary, including about 400 special constables, had arrived, and long stretches of the route through which the funeral procession was to pass on its way from Cuffley were lined by officers. The funeral did not attract the general public in such numbers as had been anticipated. By twelve o'clock a crowd of spectators had assembled outside the little iron church of St. Andrew's at Cuffley, wherein were resting the bodies of the crew in coffins of polished Japanese ash—a wood resembling elm. They had been placed in the center aisle, while that of the commander, whose identity had been discovered by small pieces of his tunic found on his breast, rested near the altar. Of the sixteen coffins only that of the commander bore a breastplate. This was of brass with the following inscription: "An unknown German officer, killed while commanding Zeppelin L-21, 3d, September, 1916."

In the roadway immediately in front of the main entrance to the church there was a lorry and to the rear of this a flat trailer about 12 feet long and 6 feet wide. These two



ONE OF THE MANY ZEPPELIN SHEDS

vehicles were to convey the bodies of the crew to the cemetery. Twelve were placed on the lorry and three others on the trailer. That with the body of the commander was brought out last and placed on the smaller car, which preceded the other vehicles For a mile towards Potters' Bar. the road was lined by a large number of spectators, chiefly women and children. The majority uncovered as the vehicles passed. Near the entrance to the cemetery were assembled about a hundred officers and men of the squadron of the Royal Flying Corps, to which Lieutenant Robinson, V. C., who brought down the airship, was attached. The general public was not admitted to the cemetery. The coffin of the commander was borne to the grave by six officers of the Royal Flying Corps, and those of the crew by men of the same corps. Nearly half an hour was occupied in this operation. When it had been completed the remaining officers and men of the Corps marched into the cemetery and took up a position immediately in front of the graves. The majority of the civilians present uncovered, tho a few who did not remove their hats immediately did so at the suggestion of the Vicar The following prayer, slightly altered from the one in the usual service, was then said by the Vicar:

"Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto Himself the soul of this unknown German officer, here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection of the dead, and the Day of Judgment. Through our Lord Jesus Christ."

A similar prayer was said by the Vicar over the grave of the members of the crew, after which he read the following:

"Almighty God, the Father of all men, we beseech Thee to have mercy upon the souls of these men, whose mortal bodies we have just laid to rest, and grant them, if it be Thy will, forgiveness of their sins. Through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The "Last Post," sounded by two buglers, immediately followed, and the short service was at an end.

Of twelve big Zeppelins which invaded the British Isles on September 23, two next day lay stark and black masses

of steel and aluminum in the little village of Mangold, in the County of Essex, victims of the anti-aircraft defenses of London and outlying districts. The crew of one were killed outright; the crew of the other, consisting of twenty-two men, were captured. The raiders killed thirty persons and injured 110. Of the casualties twenty-eight were men, women and children who were killed, and ninety-nine were men, women and children injured. The missiles dropt by the hostile aircraft caused numerous fires and demolished or damaged a large number of residences and stores in London. One of the Zeppelins came down a flaming torch, as did the Zeppelin L-21, destroyed three weeks before, while the second, disabled by gun-fire, effected a landing, which saved the lives of its crew. The crew of the first raider died in the consuming flames of their own ship, but were not so terribly charred as their predecessors had been. The burning of the first Zeppelin was witnessed by tens of thousands of London's residents. Many who saw shrapnel bursting like skyrockets about the invader, which subsequently caught fire, thought there must have been several direct hits. Many airplanes were aloft at the time and attacked the Zeppelins from all sides.

The increasing efficiency of the London defenses against aircraft had now been clearly demonstrated. The invention of powerful war-machines, capable of crossing a broad expanse of water and dropping destructive bombs upon a city from a tremendous height, had been remarkable enough, but the invention of means by which these engines of destruction could be destroyed or disabled without increasing the sacrifice of life in the cities they attacked, was a greater achievement. Both airships brought down were described as large and "of a new pattern."

This air-raid of September 23 was by far the most formidable yet attempted. The most striking fact about it was its futility. Altho seven Zeppelins engaged in former attacks had been destroyed and five more had been seriously damaged, this was the first occasion on which one had been fairly brought down on British soil. The great fleet of thirteen did no military damage, and the damage they caused to civil property was small. A few houses were slightly

injured in the metropolitan district; some cottages, a church and a gas-works were damaged elsewhere. The figures for all 36 raids up to that time made a total of not more than 352 killed and about 800 wounded. The decrease in efficiency in these attacks was notable. Out of ten raids made since the end of April, 1916, six had failed to take life. Lord French attributed this decline in efficiency in part to the new measures which had been taken to reduce or to obscure lights. Formerly the invaders were able to steer a steady course, guided by lights below, but now they seemed to lose their way. They groped about in darkness, and wasted ammunition by dropping it in fields and in the sea. The English were better prepared to meet them. They had more and better guns, more and better airplanes and searchlights, more and better trained men to work all three, and a better system of co-ordination in the scheme of defense.

Two Zeppelins lost, as against 127 men, women, and children killed or wounded, was a ratio which sooner or later seemed bound to rouse protest in Berlin against "frightfulness." The damage wrought on Britain, in the way of homes and factories burned and railway lines damaged, might exceed the million-dollar cost of a couple of Zeppelins, altho this was not likely. The sixty-two Englishmen killed and wounded just about equaled the Zeppelin crews killed or captured. The Germans who died or were taken prisoner were soldiers of a highly specialized type whom it had taken years to create, whereas the sixty-two Englishmen killed and wounded were in all probability below or above military age or in some way unfit for the battle-line. The question, therefore, was whether the High General Staff could afford to spend a German airman to kill or maim a British noncombatant. Moreover only half of the British casualties were in men. Now it was quite obvious that a policy which set out to kill as many women and children as men, simply trebled the number of enemies whom Germany had to destroy and trebled the effort which Germany had to make.[4]

The crews of Zeppelins encountered great difficulties in night flights at a tremendous height. At high altitudes the

[4] The *Evening Post* (New York).

cold was sometimes so severe that men were "covered with icicles" by the time they reached home. Their clothes "had to be cleared of ice before they could take them off." The rarity of the air caused it to penetrate into the gas-holders, the consequence of which was that, from the mixture of hydrogen and oxygen, a certain combustible gas developed which caught fire at the least spark. For this reason men had to wear felt boots, as nailed boots might draw a spark by touching metal. It was almost impossible to send the same crew two successive days on an expedition of several hundred miles, for their nerves would not stand it.

On September 26 thirty-six were killed and twenty-seven injured in Zeppelin raids. The districts attacked were the south coast, east coast, northeast coast, and the north Midlands. The principal attack was aimed against industrial centers. No damage to factories or works of military importance was reported. No attempt was made to approach London. Anti-aircraft defenses drove them from several large industrial centers. It was reported at this time that Count von Zeppelin had declared his purpose to destroy London by airship bombardment. He hoped soon to send a fleet of seventy or eighty monster craft over London. He insisted that he would never abandon his resolve to obliterate Buckingham Palace, the Houses of Parliament and every important edifice and monument in the English capital.

Another Zeppelin coast-raid was made against London on October 2. One ship was brought down in flames north of the city. This Zeppelin was the fourth to be brought down on English soil. The spectacle of the descending, blazing mass was witnessed by thousands, who showed satisfaction by loud cheering. It began to fall slowly, and then dropt very fast, the blaze lighting up like day the countryside for many miles. The Zeppelins crossed to the east coast. Beside the one shot down, another attempted to raid London, but was driven off. The farmhouse near which the big super-dirigible fell narrowly escaped destruction as the flaming airship came plunging down out of the sky. The farmer, his wife and children had rushed into the cellar when they heard a terriffic crash and, rushing upstairs, saw a great burning mass at the rear of the house.

While Berlin claimed that her Zeppelins in virtually every attack destroyed property of military importance, such as fortified places, munition-plants, and military stores, London insisted that these raids were almost invariably without military results, and that they were in effect murderous attacks upon non-combatants. Many neutral observers were inclined to think that Count von Zeppelin's invention had not yet proved itself a profitable investment either as a military weapon or as an instrument of "frightfulness." Nevertheless, Berlin dispatches told of "almost feverish activity" in Germany's airship-building yards, where numbers of "a new type of super-Zeppelin" were being constructed and the world was assured that "the aerial war against England would continue and even be intensified." The general impression in the American press at the same time was that the Zeppelins had relatively failed in their purpose. "They have completely and utterly failed to strike terror to British hearts," said the New York *Evening World.* The Boston *Transcript,* discussing the "unprofitable frightfulness" of the Zeppelin campaign, declared that the only result in England was "wrath, slow-kindling, but inextinguishable and inexorable." A summary of Zeppelin losses from the beginning of the war to September 2 showed that thirty Zeppelins had been lost and of these twenty-four had been authenticated. After September 2 six other Zeppelins were known to have been destroyed and two were reported to have been wrecked.[5]

With the coming of the New Year (1917), it was realized that the Zeppelin campaign against London had been found unprofitable. There had been a distinct cessation of attacks since the ill-starred appearances of the big dirigibles in the previous autumn, and this was ascribed not to fortuitous circumstances so much as to the disposition of German leaders to abandon these attacks on England. The chief reason was believed to be the increasing strength and efficiency of the air defenses, not to mention the effect the raids had on neutral opinion.

Then the world was startled on March 8 to learn that Count von Zeppelin had died of pneumonia at Charlottenburg.

[5] Journal of the Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute.

A contributing cause of his death was believed to be disappointment over the failure of his dirigibles as military factors. They were expected to terrorize England, but had proved instead "Britain's best recruiting sergeant." Zeppelin will probably go down in history as one of the most

FRENCH OFFICIAL PHOTO.

A FRENCH ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUN THAT BROUGHT DOWN A ZEPPELIN

spectacular figures in the war. His dirigibles raided England forty-two times and left behind them more than 426 dead and 864 injured, all non-combatants. In 1916 seven Zeppelins that raided England were destroyed, and forty-one were destroyed elsewhere. Zeppelin was a lieutenant of cavalry at the age of twenty-three, and, two years later, in

April, 1863, had come to the United States as a Prussian military attaché with the Union Army in the Civil War. He was attached to the Army of the Mississippi, in which Carl Schurz commanded a brigade. It was while here that he had his first experience as an aeronaut. He went up in a captive balloon belonging to the corps to which he was attached and came down a convert to aerial observation and warfare.

Twenty years after the Franco-Prussian war in which he had served as a colonel, he retired from the army and began to devote his time to aeronautics, in the promotion of which he spent a fortune of more than $750,000. Airship after airship, model after model, was built and all were failures; they were right in theory, but they would not fly. With his fortune exhausted and his credit gone, he appealed to the public through the newspapers, and then made a supreme effort. He sacrificed all the property he and his family owned or could raise and built Zeppelin No. 3 and made six flights with it during the summer and fall of 1907. In September, 1907, he made a three-hour trip at Lake Constance, during which he passed over five States and visited their capitals. This balloon was 420 feet long and held 11,000 cubic meters of gas. During 1908 he went up in his fifth airship and sailed nearly 900 miles in about thirty-seven hours. Emperor William and all Germany hailed him as "the conqueror of the air." During 1914 the Emperor proclaimed him "the greatest German of the twentieth century" and conferred on him the Order of the Black Eagle, the highest honor at his command.

Zeppelin's exploits in 1908 ended his financial difficulties. Airship after airship had been destroyed, sometimes with loss of life, and with a monetary loss estimated as high as $500,000 for each vessel, but the German public then came to his assistance and subscribed a fund of $1,000,000. In August, 1909, he flew from Bitterfield to Berlin, where he was hailed as a national hero. More than 2,000,000 people turned out to see him. When he landed at Tegel the Kaiser embraced him and presented him to the Imperial family. From the beginning he had planned to adapt his invention to military uses. As early as July, 1908, he had flown for

twelve hours without a stop, carrying fourteen men, two rapid-fire guns, a wireless outfit, and bombs. Zeppelin was a standing refutation to the charge that a man's constructive genius fades at fifty. He was a lieutenant-general fifty-two years old when he gave up his brilliant military career in order to devote himself to a theory he had stuck to despite ridicule unending—that aerial navigation could be solved by means of a great dirigible balloon.

The Zeppelin, as a war-weapon, was a disappointment in that its value as an air-scout was surpassed by the cheaper and quickly constructed airplane, which cost only two lives when it fell or was shot down. As a raider the usefulness of the great dirigible was gone when an effective defense was built up against it both in London and Paris. To avoid anti-aircraft guns a Zeppelin had to fly so high as to make careful aiming impossible. To have carried out forty-eight raids on British territory was in itself an extraordinary achievement, even tho it cost some six or seven machines. Had a Zeppelin appeared over London in the first week of the war it might have done great damage, for then there was not a single anti-aircraft gun mounted in London. A Zeppelin flying low might then have demolished the War Office and the Admiralty. It might have paralyzed the British army and navy. When the war began Germany had at least eight commercial and naval Zeppelins. While the Zeppelin was 90 per cent. a failure as a war-craft, Count Zeppelin's chief hope for it was as a commercial venture. His greatest ambition was to fly across the Atlantic. What pleased him most was that some of his commercial ships had made as many as 500 voyages each without accident or loss of life, and with amazing regularity of schedule. His early hopes lay along pacific rather than warlike lines. But here, too, there were great difficulties. The Zeppelins had little trouble in the air, and weathered great storms better and better as their motor-power increased. It was the landing that offered difficulties. In Germany there were always plenty of soldiers on hand to catch the ropes, but when hovering over ground in a heavy wind the situation was always a precarious one, for even if the landing to be made was at the entrance to one of the great sheds, the task of

getting them into sheds was tremendous. Most of those lost in Germany were wrecked in landing. They were sometimes 700 feet long—the older ones ranged from 450 to 500 feet. Great man-power was needed to control them when not in motion.

Germany before the war had pinned her faith of victory in any struggle with Great Britain on the Zeppelin rather than on the submarine. The German people knew little or nothing of the submarine and of its possibilities as a commerce destroyer and blockader. But they had seen the dirigible developed before their eyes. Its inventor had become a popular idol. Many successful voyages across the empire had caught the public imagination. To the German mind the Zeppelin was to do more than any other new invention to revolutionize the conditions of war. Its failure to live up to expectations was therefore a bitter awakening. The judgment of the French, in preferring the heavier-than-air machine for military purposes, was vindicated. Monoplanes, biplanes, and seaplanes became a necessary part of the equipment of every army or navy. They were of incalculable military value and greatly modified the conditions of land and sea fighting. But the Zeppelin was essentially a flash in the pan as a military experiment. For offensive purposes it proved to be merely a weapon of frightfulness, one of the most abhorrent of the implements employed by Germany in her reversion to savage warfare.

On March 17 a Zeppelin was shot down in flames near Compiègne and all of its crew were lost. An alarm was sounded at 4.15 by firemen who went through the streets of Paris blowing sirens. All lights were extinguished and airplanes patroled over the city. At six o'clock bugles were blown, announcing that the danger was over. The Zeppelin was sighted shortly before dawn and was reached by French anti-aircraft guns at a great height, probably two miles. The airship caught fire and the wreckage, with the burned bodies of the crew, fell outside of Compiègne. Compiègne is forty-five miles northeast of Paris and was close to the battle-front, which the Zeppelin had presumably crossed.

An air-raid on London on the same night was the first visit of Zeppelins in many months and it seemed to have

been expected, as it failed to cause any excitement even among the home-going theatergoers. The raiders were favored by a dark and moonless night. The raid was the first that had taken place since November, when two of the raiding airships were shot down off the north coast. The German Zeppelin L-22 was destroyed in the North Sea by British naval forces on May 14. This brought the total number reported destroyed and lost since the beginning of the war to thirty-nine. Reports of all but two losses had been confirmed. Of these six were brought down during raids over London, seven in Belgium, five in France, six in Russia, six over the North Sea, one in Norway, one in Denmark, one in Saloniki, and six on German territory. Of the six destroyed in Germany four were wrecked by Allied aviators and two by storms.

Seventy-six persons were killed, including twenty-seven women and twenty-three children, and 174 more were wounded, of whom forty-three were women and nineteen children, on May 25, in the most successful air-raid yet made in England by the Germans. Most of the casualties occurred in one town, on the southeast coast, presumably Dover, altho Folkestone was also mentioned in the Berlin official bulletin as a point of attack. The planes made a wide sweep inland. Sixteen or more took part in the attack. Three were brought down. No Zeppelins were used. Women and children who had stood for hours in a long line in the busiest streets waiting to purchase potatoes became the principal victims. Intent only on not losing their places in the line, they had little warning of the raid and so were easy victims of deadly bombs dropt indiscriminately.

The Zeppelin had, however, become a failure. The English had settled its status with an arrow-gun tipped with an explosive bullet that penetrated the balloon and ignited it. The Zeppelin gas-bags were 500 to 600 feet long and divided into compartments. Several compartments might be shot into without landing the airship, but the little inflammable device of the English blighted German hopes in this direction. Accurate figures available in December, 1917, showed that of fifty-three Zeppelins put into commission since 1914, thirty-five had been totally destroyed; two had been badly

damaged and put permanently out of commission; two were missing and probably destroyed; one was badly damaged and temporarily out of commission in December; thirteen remained in service, eight of which were detailed to the North Sea, two to the Baltic and three as experimental or school ships. Raids over France, England, and Belgium had cost the Germans seventeen Zeppelins, eight having been accounted for in England, five in France and four in Belgium. Accidents by fire, wind and lightning had destroyed at least eight in Germany. The Zeppelin numbers by accurate calculation, started with the "L-1" and ended with "L-57." Numbers between 25 and 30 had not been employed, leaving fifty-three to be accounted for. "L-1" and "L-2" were destroyed before the war, the first in the North Sea, and the second accidentally burned at Fuhlssbuttel.

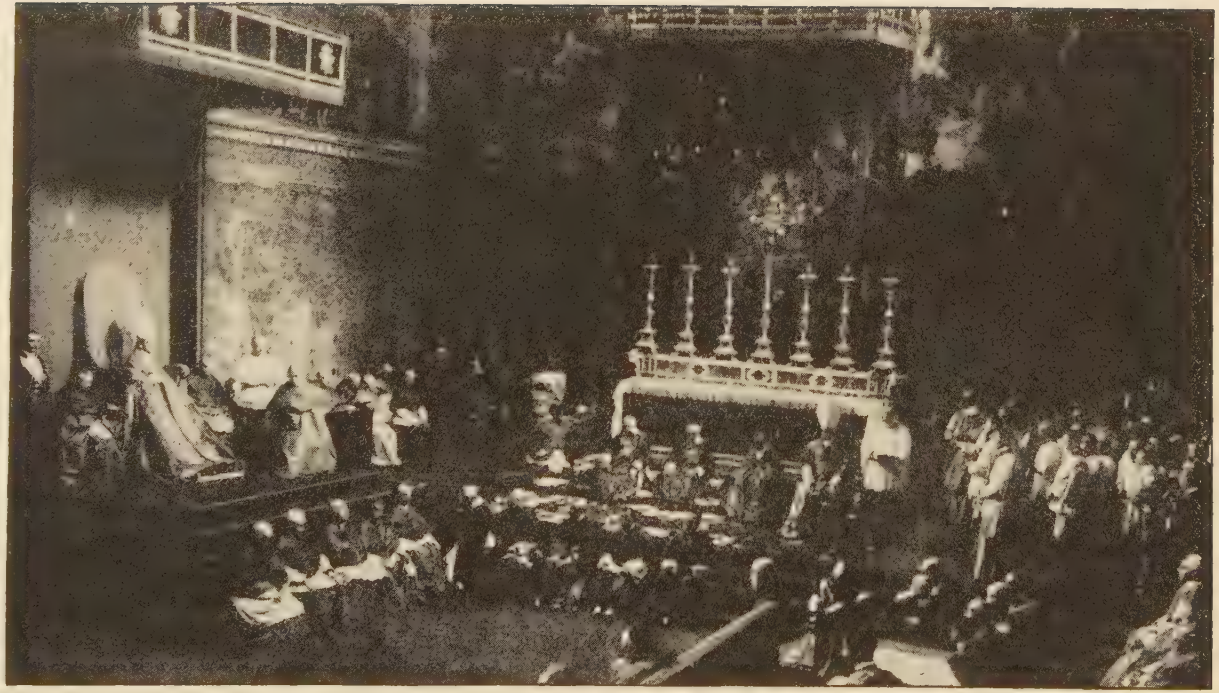
Besides Zeppelins, Germany had had in commission since beginning of the war at least thirteen airships of the "Schutte Lanz," "Gross," and "Parseval" types. Of these possibly seven remained in service, two, however, as non-combatant instruction ships. The complete failure of the Zeppelin was emphasized in a striking article printed in *L'Homme Libre* in March, 1918. In a detailed list was shown the fate of fifty-three German dirigibles, all belonging to Series L. These Zeppelins, built at Friedrichshafen in the first three years of the war, and known by names ranging from L to L-157, had been brought down by direct Allied effort—six of them in England, five in France, two on the Belgian front, and another in the battle of Jutland. Thirteen others were destroyed in various accidents or from being cast ashore, or driven out to sea by bad weather. Of the whole L-class only fourteen remained in service, ten being used for observation purposes in the North Sea, and four others for training and school purposes in various parts of Germany.[6]

[6] Principal Sources: The *Daily Telegraph* (London), The *Tribune*, The *Times*, The *Evening Post*, New York; Associated Press dispatches.

ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Part XV

GERMANY'S SEVERAL BIDS FOR A PEACE OF CONQUEST UNDER MILITARY FORCE



POPE BENEDICT AND CARDINALS HOLDING A PEACE CONFERENCE IN ROME

I

FUTILE EARLY EFFORTS

August, 1914—December, 1917

THE cessation of hostilities that came with the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, had been preceded on several occasions since the war began by more or less serious attempts to obtain peace. Aside from efforts made by the Pope and those made by President Wilson during the years when the United States was neutral, all these proposals, or "peace kites," as they were commonly called in Entente circles, came from Germany, or from her ally, Austria, who was acting with Germany's knowledge. None of them went so far as to indicate in any degree the terms the Central Powers would consider. They suggested conferences rather than terms of peace, and were dominated by a purpose to get a German peace, or what Germans called "a strong peace," which meant conquest, or other profit from the war such as, in Germany, had been called "thumping indemnities." Some quite pacific and even mellifluous words would be uttered by a foreign minister, a premier, or a chancellor, in Vienna or, less often, in Berlin, followed in a few days by a boastful speech from the Kaiser in which he would talk of his "good sword," his "war-map," his "victorious army," and the "honorable peace" which the Fatherland must have. In one instance, where the German Chancellor had used words as soft and insinuating as the cooing of a dove, the Kaiser within three days came forth with a speech that was described as "throwing a brickbat." To all these efforts to extract peace by force—indeed the whole attitude of the military Germans was a swaggering one, as if victory had actually been won by them—the Allies responded with speeches, sometimes from a prime minister, sometimes from a cabinet secretary, or an under-secretary in which words of indifference or scorn were exprest. None of

the Allied Government ever took the Teutonic proposals with any seriousness.

Soon after Germany had declared war on Russia in 1914, President Wilson proclaimed the neutrality of the United States. He asked that all citizens respect our neutrality in word, thought, and deed. The idea of America's destiny as a trustee of peace was first advanced by him at that time. Next day he addrest to King George, the Czar Nicholas, Emperor William, Emperor Francis Joseph, and President Poincaré a message tendering his good office for peace, as follows:

"As official head of one of the Powers signatory to the Hague Convention, I feel it to be my privilege and my duty, under Article Three of that Convention, to say to you in a spirit of most earnest friendship that I should welcome an opportunity to act in the interest of European peace, either now or any other time that might be thought more suitable, as an occasion to serve you and all concerned in a way that would afford me lasting cause for gratitude and happiness."

Nothing that remotely suggested a willingness among any of the Entente Powers to avail themselves of the President's offices resulted from this message. Europe had no illusions as to the possibility of securing at that time a satisfactory peace. A premature peace they had clearly foreseen, would become a guaranty of more wars to follow soon and Great Britain and her Allies would be faithless stewards of civilization were they to call a halt before German militarism had been crusht.

A month after the war began a new treaty was entered into by Great Britain, France, and Russia, in which they bound themselves not to conclude a peace separately, the duration of the conflict to hang, not upon the necessities of the weakest among them, but upon the interests and will of the strongest member of the alliance. The treaty was signed in London and had for its chief significance an implication that all the resources of men and money of the greatest of the world's powers had been enlisted for the war and would be thrown into the balance. It would take time to make those resources available, but, with a resolute spirit behind them, it was certain that eventually they would bear de-

cisively upon their adversaries. The war, therefore, was to be a contest not so much between peoples and empires as between systems. It was British self-government, British sea-power, British commerce and British wealth, world-wide in their extent, that had been thrown into a life and death struggle with that consolidated German autocracy and militarism which for forty years had burdened mankind with armaments and menaced it with war. The issue was between rule by the people and rule by the sword, not in Britain alone, or in Germany alone, but throughout the earth, now and for generations to come. Peace was unthinkable until the Prussian military autocracy had been destroyed.

Until well into September, newspapers reported activities for peace among Americans, especially among professional pacifists, then a numerous and influential class in the country. The Allied Powers in Europe were annoyed by these efforts, because of their futility—futile, that is, because of the supreme confidence the Teutonic Powers had in their own strength, and because of their known war-aims as those of conquest and the accomplishment of which were to Germany a condition precedent to peace. Throughout this country there remained an intense longing for a cessation of hostilities. Not only had the battle of the Marne occurred, but the seven days' battle of the Aisne and the "race to the sea," and then had come the terrible fighting in Flanders, on the Yser and around Ypres. The battle of Flanders had just begun when October 7 was set apart in America as "Peace Sunday," and in every city and small place where there was a house of worship prayers were offered for peace in response to a special proclamation issued by President Wilson. In the larger cities, from coast to coast, great meetings took place at which clerical and lay speakers discust the war and offered prayers for its termination. The President's appeal: "I do request all good God-fearing persons to repair to their places of worship," was heeded everywhere and so was his plea that the people "unite their petitions to Almighty God that he vouchsafe his children healing peace again." Jew, Protestant, and Roman Catholic, each in his own place of worship and after his own fashion, joined in the services.

In New York tens of thousands observed the day. From 10 o'clock in the morning until the latest service was begun, crowds filled the streets leading to churches and synagogs. Fifth Avenue, notable for churchgoing throngs, was filled with such numbers of worshipers that it suggested Easter, where that avenue for two generations had attracted great crowds. Large gatherings took place outside of churches. Carnegie Hall was thronged in the morning with an audience that came to hear Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan. On the same day Mr. Bryan spoke a second time at the Broadway Tabernacle and many more persons than could be accommodated went to hear him. Services in the two large cathedrals of the city, St. Patrick's, Roman Catholic, and St. John the Divine, Episcopalian, were attended by great numbers. Cardinal Farley and Bishop Greer preached and offered special prayers which had been composed for the occasion. In Washington President Wilson went to church and heard a prayer that the United States might be instrumental in restoring peace and that he might receive wisdom and strength as a mediator among the warring nations.

With the fighting in Flanders reaching its greatest intensity in November, Henry Ford, on December 3, in a chartered ship, carrying more than one hundred peace-pilgrims and several newspaper correspondents, all of whom were his guests, sailed for Europe, with Christiania, in Norway, as his port, intending thence to proceed to The Hague, picking up delegates on the way, and to be joined at The Hague by delegates from Spain and Switzerland. At The Hague was to be set up "an unofficial court for peace proposals," composed of delegates from neutral nations. "Out of the trenches by Christmas," was the slogan of Mr. Ford's party, which in due course, after arrival in Europe, disintegrated, its mission a complete failure. It had been an amazing act of Knight-errantry that Mr. Ford undertook. Not a few Americans had deplored it from the beginning as calculated to make this country ridiculous in the eyes of Europe.

Not until the spring of 1916 was peace talk again sufficiently significant to command particular attention. Even then it consisted of rather vague suggestions for conferences

and was supposed to have had its origin in Germany, as a concomitant of the great drive then taking place at Verdun. Germany was possest of a great national delusion that she could compel peace with the sword. Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, gave out at this time, through an American newspaper correspondent,[1] a statement in which, with true Prussian arrogance and assumption of victory, he said:

"Only when statesmen of the warring nations come down to a basis of real facts, when they take the war-situation as every war-camp shows it to be, when, with honest and sincere will, they are prepared to terminate this terrible bloodshed and are ready to discuss the war and peace problems with one another in a practical manner, only then will we be nearing peace. Whoever is not prepared to do that has the responsibility for it if Europe continues to bleed and tear itself to pieces. I cast that responsibility far from myself."

HENRY FORD

With Germany the issues in this war had become, not provinces, places in the sun, colonies or fleets, which were merely incidentals, but an issue naked and clear that nothing in the laws of nations or the conventions of humanity was of value when it came between Germany and her purpose. She had applied this purpose to the map of Europe and on the war-map, as it then existed, she would make peace, that is, Germany would give up a portion of her booty in order to save her strength; she would take, perhaps, half instead of all her conquests as a reward for her crimes. President Poincaré, in a few brief words early in May, disposed of any suggestion of peace so far as France was concerned, when he declared that France did not wish Germany to "tender

[1] Karl H. von Wiegand of The *World* (New York).

peace" but rather to "ask for peace." France did not wish to meet Germany's conditions, but to "impose her own on Germany," and so long as Germany would not "recognize herself as vanquished," France "would not cease to fight."

There was nothing surprizing in this statement, save for those who had listened to assertions that the French people were weary of the war and that France was exhausted. Nowhere so well as in France were the issues of the war clearly perceived. Germany had educated Frenchmen to understand her purposes. Eleven years before the war, when the Kaiser went to Tangier, the most recent education of the French had been acquired. From that day until Armageddon, German writers like Bernhardi had frankly foretold the day when France was to be permanently crusht. Her decadence, her approaching dissolution, had long been familiar topics in Germany, but France in 1916 had made her answer at Verdun. Not Poincaré, but Pétain, had delivered it. Poincaré merely reechoed what French guns had already been saying. Lloyd George at this time spoke for Great Britain. His words took the form of a defiant statement in which Germany's bid for "a victorious peace" was rejected. The Allies were going on with their great task of saving civilization.

Six months later, on December 12, 1916, Germany, at a much advertised meeting of the Reichstag, formally proposed peace, Bethmann-Hollweg speaking. Germany was still in possession of Belgium, of the most of the Balkans, and a part of France, but the Allied Somme offensive, French recovery at Verdun, and the Italian activity against the Austrians had shown that, as affairs stood, Germany could not win by arms alone except at great cost. She therefore wanted peace in order to postpone the present war until she could gather herself together and begin another. Her "peace offensive" took the form of a suggestion that delegates from belligerent countries meet at a neutral point and discuss possible terms. Four days later, the Russian Duma, by a unanimous vote, went on record against acceptance of the German proposals, but President Wilson seized the opportunity to send a note to belligerents asking them to state terms "upon which the war might be concluded." His note

was not well received in Europe, any suggestion to abandon the war while Germany was still unpunished and unrepentant being at that time unwelcome to the Entente Powers.

In America, opinion of the note was confused and divided. Many interpreted it as coming from a realization by the President that America was now on the brink of war with Germany (as indeed she was), and that the President did not wish it to be said afterward that he had neglected any step which might honorably have averted it. Germany made a vague answer to his note with no suggestion as to terms,

A PRIEST CELEBRATING MASS ON THE WESTERN FRONT

and proposed once more a meeting of delegates to discuss terms. France in reply exprest doubt if the time had come when a peace of lasting benefit to Europe could be secured, but named her peace terms as involving "restoration, reparation, rehabilitation, and guaranties." Lloyd George in reply, making his first speech as Premier, repudiated the German proposals and asserted that Great Britain, with its new cabinet, was not making peace, but war.

On January 22, 1917, President Wilson, in addressing Congress, announced as a basis for peace a statement of principles, which were afterward accepted as fundamental

to the Allied cause. Only eight days later Germany made public her program of unrestricted and ruthless submarine warfare, which was to begin on the following day. She informed this country that we could send only one ship a week to one English port, and that this ship must follow a route which Germany prescribed. It was out of these conditions that, two months later, the United States declared war on Germany.

That Bethmann-Hollweg's spectacular offer in December had been dictated by Germany's consciousness of her own defeat was the only rational interpretation of the proposal that the Entente could make—at least after the policy of unrestricted *U*-boat warfare was entered upon in the following February. That policy was regarded as an act of desperation no less than one of extraordinary folly. Not until February 22, 1918, however, did people in this country receive any real confirmation of the views they had entertained in 1917 as to Germany's state of desperation. Then there was published in the New York *Nation* a translation of a letter written by Count Czernin, the Austrian Foreign Minister, to the young Austrian Emperor Charles on April 12, 1917—ten weeks after the submarine order went into effect—as it had been printed in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* for December 18, 1918. Czernin in this letter recognized that Austria was then at the end of her resources, and that in Germany responsible political circles did not deny that that country was in a similar condition. He said:

"It is entirely clear that our military strength is approaching its end. . . . I merely refer to the approaching exhaustion of raw material for manufacture of munitions, to the entirely exhausted supply of human material, and above all to the dull despair which, primarily as the result of under-nourishment, has taken possession of all classes of the population and which makes impossible any further endurance of the sufferings of war. . . . I am absolutely convinced that another winter campaign is entirely impossible, in other words, that in the late summer or autumn we must finish things at any price. In this situation undoubtedly the most important thing is to begin peace negotiations at a moment when the enemy is not yet fully conscious of our decaying strength.

"In this war five monarchs have been dethroned, and the surprizing ease with which the strongest monarchy in the world has

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CHARLES OF AUSTRIA, HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN

Charles had succeeded Francis Joseph in November, 1916. Count Czernin, his Foreign Minister as early as April 12, 1917, had advised him to seek to bring about peace

now been overthrown may induce reflection and recall the phrase, *Exemple trahunt.* It is no use replying that in Germany or Austria-Hungary conditions are different; it is no use replying that the firm roots of the monarchical ideas in Berlin or Vienna preclude such an event. This war has opened a new era of world history; it has had no precedents and no prolog. The world is not the same as it was three years ago, and it is useless to seek in history analogies for all those events which are now everyday occurrences.

"Your majesty knows that the burden upon the people has grown to dimensions which are simply unbearable. Your majesty knows that the bow is stretched so taut that a break may be expected any day. . . . I do not believe that the internal condition of Germany is materially different from ours, but I fear that in military circles at Berlin certain illusions are cherished. I have the firm conviction that Germany, like ourselves, is at the end of its strength, as indeed the responsible political elements in Berlin do not deny. I am as firm as a rock in the conviction that if Germany attempts to conduct another winter campaign, there will result convulsions in the interior of the Empire which would seem to me much worse than a bad peace concluded by the monarchs.

"It is beyond doubt that the American declaration of war has materially aggravated the situation. It may be that months will pass before America can throw any forces worth mentioning into the theater of war; but the moral factor, the fact that the Entente now expects new and powerful aid, alters the situation to our disadvantage, because our enemies have considerably more time before them than we, and can wait longer than we, unluckily, can wait.

"In Germany great hope is based upon the submarine war. I consider this hope delusive. I do not deny for a moment the fabulous achievements of the sea-heroes; I concede with admiration that the number of ships sunk monthly is something incredible; but I affirm that the success awaited and predicted by the Germans has not been achieved. . . . But to-day even enthusiastic German advocates of submarine-warfare must begin to realize that this means will not decide the victory; and I hope that the unfortunately mistaken notion that England will be forced to conclude peace within a few months will also lose ground in Berlin. Nothing in politics is more dangerous than believing what you wish; nothing is more fatal in a great crisis than the habit of closing one's eyes to the truth, and giving oneself up to Utopian illusions, from which there must sooner or later be a fearful awakening."

How futile were Czernin's warnings one can now realize by recalling the vigor with which the *U*-boat work was

prosecuted in the spring, summer, and autumn of 1917. Then, as if in a belief that she had terrorized Great Britain and America to the point of submission to the Teutonic sword, Germany came forward with another peace "kite." On July 19, the Reichstag adopted resolutions which exprest a desire for a peace of lasting conciliation, with "no annexations and no indemnities," a cry which German diplomats contrived to have taken up later by the Bolsheviki of Russia and which Germany, with astonishing perfidy, several months later repudiated and her army forced the so-called peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk upon Russia.

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DR. GEORGE MICHAELIS

German Chancellor in succession to Bethmann-Hollweg, but soon succeeded by Count von Hertling

On July 29 Michaelis, the new German Chancellor who had succeeded Bethmann-Hollweg, maintained that the refusal of the Entente Allies to accept these resolutions as a basis for peace negotiations proved that they did not renounce conquest as their object in the war. Count Czernin, the Austrian Foreign Minister, at the same time contended that peace could be reached by negotiation and that any delay in bringing it about was due to England's determination to destroy the Central Powers. On August 15, the Pope sent a peace note to all the belligerents, in which he suggested disarmament, withdrawal from occupied territories, restitution of German colonies, settlement of territorial and political questions in a conciliatory spirit, and a general condonation of the past. A proposal coming from such a quarter proved embarrassing to the European Allies, and the burden of replying was left to President Wilson, whose answer, altho courteous and respectful, left little unsaid as to the stern necessity of destroying the power for evil that

existed in the German military autocracy. Opinion in general supported his calm and forceful statement. It became the final word of the Entente. England officially adopted it as her own reply.

Following closely upon the efforts of Czernin and the Pope there came on August 20 a letter from the Emperor Charles of Austria to the German Crown Prince. In this letter the Emperor declared that Germany was in "a hopeless situation" and urged that Germany make peace before winter, which she could do if willing to "make territorial sacrifices in Alsace-Lorraine." Following are parts of this letter:[2]

"Bulgaria is on the point of dropping out of the war, and the situation demands that peace should be concluded before winter. I have positive indications that we could win over an opponent, if Germany would be willing to make certain territorial sacrifices in Alsace-Lorraine, but I do not want Germany alone to make sacrifices. I will myself bear the lion's share in this direction."

Emperor Charles then pointed out how Austria in 1915 had offered Trentino to Italy to avoid Italy's entrance into the war, and added: "Germany is in a similar, but far more hopeless situation, and you, as heir to the throne, have the right to throw a weighty word into the scale." The letter closed with a request to "unite your efforts with mine to end the war quickly and honorably."

Fundamentally the Allied terms of peace were the restoration of Belgium after complete evacuation; the restoration of Northern France, and the retrocession to France of Alsace-Lorraine. Equally certain was it that the Allies would demand the cession by Austria to Italy of Trieste and the Trentino, which were inhabited by Italian-speaking peoples long oppressed by Austria and eager to return to the Latin world. In the same way, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia would have to go to Serbia, and Transylvania which was inhabited chiefly by Roumanians, would go to Roumania. All these were applications of principles of self-determination as expressed by President Wilson in an address

[2] Printed in April, 1919, in The *Berliner Zeitung-am-Mittag*, in a letter from a Vienna correspondent.

made by him before we entered the war. There was no proposal on the part of the Allies to dismember Germany. The only territory to be taken from Germany was territory which she had taken from France forty-six years before, and certain Polish districts which Frederick the Great took as his reward for destroying Polish liberty and independence.

The German people were hungry, but they were not yet hungry enough to overthrow the military autocracy which had brought them to a condition of misery. They were dissatisfied, but they were not dissatisfied enough to repudiate either their military leaders or the principles which had made Germany a predatory state—the principles on which Prussia for two centuries had been gradually expanding her territory from a small to a great state. There could be no peace in the world so long as the German people held to the doctrine that ambition, or the necessities of their state, was above humanity: in other words, that there was no moral law when a German Imperial appetite had to be appeased. Americans as well as the Entente Europeans had reached a point where they had to face the fact once for all that they must smash the Prussian system or the Prussian system would smash all that they cared for or believed in. Until the German armies were defeated in the field all talk about peace would be a sham, unless Germans were willing to accept peace founded on conditions that conceded their defeat. The end of this war was in sight, but it was not yet at hand. The principles for which Europe had fought, for which we in America were soon to fight in France had been only partially vindicated.

Well supported statements were made at this time that influential Frenchmen had been approached on behalf of the German Government with a view to ascertaining whether proposals for peace, regarded by the latter as honorable and even generous, would be acceptable to France. These proposals included the cession of Metz and perhaps part of Alsace. The purpose was to separate France from her Allies, after which the Imperial Government believed it could defeat Russia and Great Britain or obtain from them terms which would include the cession to Germany of Antwerp and northern Belgium.

Three months later the Russian Bolsheviki, under Trotzky and Lenine, opened negotiations with Germany and on December 16 signed a truce of twenty-eight days, during which peace negotiations were begun at Brest-Litovsk. Germany, counting upon war-weariness among Allied people, and knowing that suggestions of peace had gone abroad from Brest-Litovsk, considered the time ripe for another attempt to gain from the Western Allies by psychology what she had not been able to gain by force of arms. Her political spokesmen proposed, therefore, for all Russia and all her allies, a peace "without annexations or indemnities," and a restoration of political independence to all nations that were suffering from loss of it through the war. The German military arm meanwhile was busy at the conference in Brest-Litovsk getting everything ready to despoil Russia of a vast part of her territory. Picking out figureheads as ostensible representatives of various Russian provinces, she insolently asserted, upon the authority of these dummy representatives, that certain Russian provinces desired autonomy under German protection, and that they were entitled to it under the Wilson doctrine of self-determination—that is, the right of every people to determine for themselves how they should be ruled. This affair at Brest-Litovsk calls, however, for a special chapter.[3]

[3] Principal Sources: Woodrow Wilson's "Speeches in the War," compiled by Alvin M. Gale; The *Tribune*, The *Evening Post*, The *Journal of Commerce*, The *World*, The *Evening Sun*, New York.

II

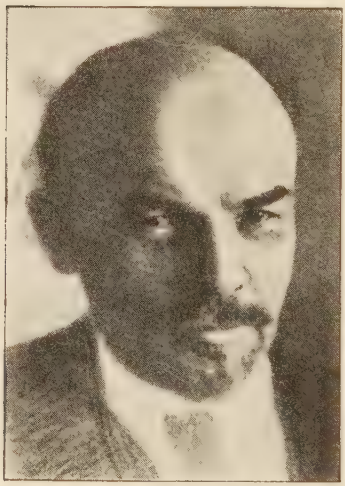
PEACE AS GERMANY SOUGHT IT THROUGH THE BOLSHEVIKI—WILSON'S "FOURTEEN POINTS" SPEECH

November, 1917—February 27, 1918

THE Germans had scarcely ceased to push their counter-offensive westward from Cambrai, in November, 1917, when there came to the Entente Allies alarming reports of negotiations between the Teutonic Powers and the new Russian, or Bolshevik, Government, looking toward peace, and an early armistice seemed certain as an outcome. As the negotiations proceeded, the Bolsheviki showed confidence in their ability to enlist the other Entente Powers in a peace movement, mainly because of faith in what the laboring classes might do to influence the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy, as well as that of Germany. The power of the Bolsheviki spread rapidly through Russia after Kerensky's overthrow in November, 1917, and with it came demands from the Russian masses for immediate steps toward peace. There was behind this movement much honest patriotism, including that of soldiers who were among the followers of the Bolsheviki; but as for Lenine and Trotzky, official documents published a year later indicated that they had been acting under German pay and largely at German dictation.

In his first address to the Pan-Russian Soviet, Trotzky, now the Foreign Minister, endeavored to make it appear that Russia wanted to make an offer for a universal, but not for a separate, peace. The great difficulty had been to convince him and other Russian pacifists that a general peace could not be brought about over night, and that the German people at that stage of the war could not be induced to revolt against the Kaiser. Trotzky and Lenine favored a cessation of hostilities along the whole battle-front, in the west as well as the east. "We plan an im-

mediate armistice of three months," said Lenine, "during which time elected representatives from all nations and not the diplomats, are to settle the questions of peace. We are willing to consider any proposals for peace, no matter from which side. We offer a just peace, but will not accept unjust terms. We want a democratic peace based on no annexations and no indemnities, but one made by representatives of the peoples." By annexations, he meant "forcible seizure of any territory in the past, or the present, without the consent of the people."



NICHOLAS LENINE

Observers among the Entente, alarmed altho they were by these events still believed that not even Slav idealists of the most exalted type would tamely submit to the dismemberment of Russia. But Germany now held, and proposed to keep, Courland, Esthonia, Livonia, and Poland, and it was on her program to include Finland also, in a Middle European system dominated by her and extending from the Baltic to the Adriatic, if not to the Persian Gulf. The Leninites were ready for the time to indulge her to the extent of granting a three months' armistice for the purpose of discussion, but did not see as others saw that in that interval Germany would quietly and by force make more secure her grasp on Russian territory. In such conditions, Russia, as an active element in the war, promised to be a negligible factor at least for months to come, and perhaps to the end of the war.

From Berlin, on December 5, came news that an armistice of ten days had been arranged and that it extended over the entire Russian front. When the Germans were asked if they would agree to leave their armies intact on the Eastern Front for the time being, their answer was reported as

"evasive"; they said they were there to arrange an armistice with Russia, and for no other purpose; moreover, it was not for them to decide what should be done with the German armies. Armies "were sent where there was work for them to do." This Bolsheviki proposal, if it was seriously meant, added a comic opera touch to the extravaganza played so long on the boards of Petrograd. Lenine and Trotzky should have known, and probably did know, that the Germans were preparing to take their armies from the Eastern Front; in fact, that they had already taken great masses away. Some of these troops might, in fact, have been in action against the British at Cambrai weeks before. On reinforcements from the Russian front the Germans had placed hopes for a last chance in the war-game before an American army was in action in the western field.

Leon Trotzky

Better than the rest of the world, the German understood that Russia had not been a nation, but a collection of nationalities united by a governmental machine and a dominant dynasty. Now that the machine had been scrapped and the dynasty eliminated, Germany was prepared with a policy, while her enemies had neither a policy nor comprehension of the exact situation on which to base one. What Germany was seeking to do was to accelerate the pace of the Russian disintegration, to encourage the several racial elements in Russia, not alone in getting independence, but in dividing and subdividing, until the Eastern world should be transformed into a series of totally divided peoples, mutually hostile, reduced to anarchy and capable of offering no resistance to German penetration, whether peaceful or otherwise. Russia seemed definitely out of the war, but the United States in the support she was giving to the Allies

had stept into her position and, what was more than Russia could do, had lent her enormous resources to fortify the financial position of the Entente. In Russia, therefore, the Entente had lost a borrower and in us had found a lender. Our navy at the same time had begun to contribute materially to disposing of the submarine menace. All things considered, the loss of Russia and the gain of America promised to offset each other provided there should be no German success in the western field before our army could arrive in Europe.

The preliminary peace conditions which the Germans now proposed to the Bolsheviki envoys read like an effort to revive Russia's economic vassalage as accomplished by the commercial treaty negotiated in 1904. Germany was to have control of the Russian wheat market for fifteen years; German goods were to be admitted to Russia free. These demands, somewhat more insolent than those made in the treaty of 1904, concluded during the Manchurian campaign, involved an exorbitant tribute which would drain Russia of millions every year. Germany's third demand made the subjugation of Russia to Germany absolute. This was that "no territory now occupied by the Germans should be surrendered." Here was a most effective formula for adjourning indefinitely the recovery of Russia from her state of prostration. Shylock's pound of flesh sounded generous by comparison with the terms Germany proposed. If Russia had actually been beaten to her knees, if both her capitals, Moscow and Petrograd, had been occupied, the terms could hardly have been more drastic or humiliating. What Germany did not ask was merely what Germany did not want.

Territory embracing 120,000 square miles, with a population of 25,000,000 or more, was demanded, which in ultimate result was perhaps the least of her demands, for when Germany stipulated for the free entry of all her products into Russia, she meant that the Russians should buy from nobody else anything which Germany could supply, and to guarantee this Germany was to have command for fifteen years of Russia's wheat, which was Russia's greatest article of export and Germany's most urgent need. Russia's trade under these conditions

would have been absolutely Germanized. The outside world was asking if there was any reason to suppose that Germany, in negotiation with the other Entente Allies, after an admission that they could not beat her, would have offered them any terms more favorable? The terms to Russia had disclosed Germany's hand to the whole world. Stript of disguises, Germany was to be as bloody and cruel in peace as she had been in war. The Entente knew now as never before that the only war-aims possible to them was to bring Germany to her knees through an actual military overthrow.

When the Russian armistice went formally into effect it supplied evidence of an unmistakable act of mischief against the Allies. Bolsheviki had made it possible for the Teutons to withdraw a great part of their forces from the east and transfer them to the west. Without overtly consenting to this operation, they had winked at it. Instead of frankly agreeing to let German and Austrian troops depart, they had refused, with much show of consideration for the Allies, and then had put off the formal signing of the armistice until the troops required by the Kaiser got well on their way. And yet, when the commissioners signed the agreement, Trotzky had the effrontery to say "it must first be thoroughly satisfactory to the Allies." What the armistice actually did was to supply an extra loophole for the Teutons, since it sanctioned their movements of troops as already begun. The nation that had broken faith with Belgium, and that more lately had failed to keep its political promises to the Poles, did not let an agreement with mere Bolsheviki stand in its way. Russia's defection forced Roumania also to make peace. With calm disregard of all the other nations, Russia's so-called internationalists had left Roumania completely at Germany's mercy, so that there was nothing for Roumania to do but fall into line with the Bolsheviki leaders.

By December 19, preliminary peace discussions between Bolsheviki representatives and delegates of the Teutonic Allies were in progress at Brest-Litovsk, and promised to bring about peace; that is, a separate peace and a consequent retirement of the Russian army as a belligerent. The German and Austrian Foreign Ministers, both astute politicians, went to Brest-Litovsk at a time when the war-

aims of Great Britain were being concretely set forth in the House of Commons by Lloyd George, who set at rest all chances of any general peace through the Bolsheviki. A complete restoration by Germany of all invaded territory, with compensation for the havoc wrought, was the price Great Britain demanded for laying down arms. Lloyd George said Great Britain had not sought territorial aggrandizement for herself or for any of her Allies when she entered the war. As to Germany's colonies, all of which were now in the hands of the Entente, their disposition would have to be determined at the Peace Congress.

"A joyful Christmas message" was promised to the world late in December by the German press. It was about the same time in 1916 that another peace message came from Germany, and in the following spring came an Easter message on democratic reforms in Germany. Now, in 1917, the world had a peace message, based on the Russian armistice, and Germans were rejoicing over the prospect of a "German peace." They really thought the war had been won. Berlin cafés were full of men, confident that a German peace was at hand. One newspaper pointed out that even the Russian armistice had allowed a certain amount of peaceful intercourse between the two armies in the east and this was thought to signify the collapse of the economic blockade and the introduction of food into Germany from Russia. Another German "peace balloon" was, in fact, in the air. "Fritz flies a kite," said the New York *Tribune*. Certain anonymous peace proposals, unofficial, of course, were put forth by unknown persons as an outline of the basis on which Germany was willing to negotiate with the Entente. At their face value, these terms granted much more than any previous unauthoritative proposals from the German side. They offered to yield to France Alsace and Lorraine, provided a plebiscite, or referendum vote among the inhabitants, should authorize the change. They proposed to indemnify Belgium and northern France—not with German money, but with a sum paid over by Entente Powers for the surrender of Germany's rights in her African colonies. They tendered the retrocession of all territory held by the Central Empires in Serbia, Roumania and Montenegro; the cession of conquered

THE RUSSO-GERMAN ARMISTICE OF DECEMBER, 1917

The picture shows the signing of the document at Brest-Litovsk. Numbers indicate the assembled officials: 1. Kameneff; 2, Joffe, President of the Russian Delegation; 3. Mrs. A. A. Biacenko; 4. Admiral Altvater; 5, Staff Captain Lipsky; 6, Karachan, Secretary of the Russian Delegation; 7. Lieut.-Col. Fokke; 8. Zeki Pasha. Plenipotentiary of Turkey; 9. Ambassador von Merey; 10. Prince Leopold of Bavaria; 11, General Hoffman, Chief of Staff (noted for arrogance of manner); 12, Colonel Gantschev, Bulgaria's Plenipotentiary; 13, Captain Horn; 14. Captain Rey; 15. Major Brinkmann; 16, Major von Kameke; 17, Captain von Rosenberg; 18. Major von Mirbach (afterward assassinated in Moscow); 19, Dolive-Dobrovolsky; 20, not named

territory in Russia as future independent States, and the erection of Poland into an autonomous State under Austrian suzerainty. The proposal as to Alsace-Lorraine marked a long advance beyond anything that the German Government had hitherto hinted at. But Germany no doubt hoped to bring about a so-called plebiscite in which she would colonize voters and steal the election.

The *Berliner-Zeitung* said Emperor William contemplated going to Brest-Litovsk, if the diplomats should arrive at an agreement, in which case he would endeavor "to assemble all the sovereigns and premiers of Europe in a peace conference, as was done after the Napoleonic war." He was credited with declaring that everybody wanted peace, and that "the future offered so many great tasks that all States must cooperate in them." Whether or not an official peace proposal actually came from the Kaiser at Christmas was regarded in this country as a matter of small interest and still less consequence. Here it was held that it would not rest with the Kaiser to propose, or even to accept, the terms of peace that would make a settlement of this war, since his elimination was one of the objects for which the contest was being waged. The Entente Powers were of one mind in holding that a repetition of this hideous conflict must be rendered impossible, and this determination presupposed the stripping away of all power for evil from the Hohenzollern group of conspirators, who had plunged the world into the conflict. It had become a waste of time to discuss on what terms Germany might be ready to make peace so long as Germany remained unbeaten.

Instead of holding out an olive branch on Christmas Day, the Kaiser again threw a brickbat. He did this in a speech to his Second Army. When the world was looking for moderate views, it only saw the Kaiser in one of his most frenzied moods. For him to talk now as he did, like a man a bit "touched in the head," for him to shout about "bringing peace to the world" through the process of "battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace," was about the worst disservice to Germany that he could have rendered. His language was not wholly to be explained by the German rhetoric to which

he had so easily fallen a victim. Vicious ideas, intolerable to the modern world, lurked behind his words, betrayed a total misconception of the whole war-situation and confirmed the view of him as a ruler who had come down from a world that was dead and gone and who was unfitted for work in a modern State. He had failed to perceive that such an outcry just at that time was worth five Army Corps to his enemies. He had not yet learned that the world could not be terrorized into submission to his system, but he had the frenzied arrogance to talk of forcing nations into peace, and if they did not yield he would overrun them with fire and sword. He did not see how in that act he was steeling every Entente heart to defy and withstand him to the last dollar and the last man.

Germany had proposed new peace terms, simply because there was no thoughtful German who could mistake the fact that further protraction of the war would be a German disaster of incalculable dimensions. What Germany had won was tangible, what she had lost was imponderable. What she had temporarily conquered was written on the maps, what she had permanently lost could not be marked on maps, and this loss was staggering. An industrial nation, with little accumulated capital, depending upon her neighbors and her present enemies for raw materials to feed her factories, and upon these same countries for markets in which to sell her manufactures, Germany had in three years and a half exhausted her capital and become bankrupt. When the war ended she would have to go to her former foes a suppliant for raw material for which she could not pay in money; and in addition would have to seek to sell her manufactures among those same people—peoples who for three years and a half had been not alone facing her troops in the field, but seeing their civilian populations murdered by submarines, airplane bombs, and other devices of German "frightfulness." Thus, to do business with the world after the war, Germany would have to enlist the credit of her foes, regain their markets, obtain once more the use of their ports, and above all, the use of British ports, for her merchant ships. Unless she could do this, she could no longer compete with maritime powers who had colonial possessions that

enabled them to continue business without permission or aid from Germany.

The Congress of Brest-Litovsk appeared to be concrete evidence that the Germans had won the war in the east, but by the same token it disclosed the fact that Germany knew that she had lost the war on the sea and in the west and was seeking profit in Poland, not in Belgium, not in the Balkans, not in French Lorraine. What Germany now sought was to get peace in the west on the basis of the situation of August, 1914. With reference to France and Great Britain this was the maximum of her hope. She expected to sacrifice certain of her colonies, and might even think of possible indemnities to Belgium, but her main objectives were in the Balkans and elsewhere in the east. For the time being, at least, her efforts to dominate the world by crushing France and getting at Great Britain had been laid aside, as objectives for "next time," and not for this war. With terms agreed upon at Brest-Litovsk, Germany, in case they held, might perhaps dominate Central Europe and Western Asia, a menace to the peace of the world that would make it necessary for the Western nations, including the United States, to keep huge standing armies and bear the great burden of an armed peace.

The Western world perceived that Germany's assault upon it had failed and that, despite all the official boasting and bullying that came from Berlin, the German people were heartily sick of the conflict and wholly ready to make peace on terms that would leave Western Europe as it was before the war. The declaration that the Central Powers were ready for a general peace "without forcible annexations and indemnities" had failed to stir a ripple on the surface in Washington. In fact, there was no disposition among American officials or legislators to take the declaration as made in good faith, or to regard it as more than a military maneuver, or one more of those "feelers" which the Berlin authorities, and those associated with them in the war, knew so well how to send out by underground channels to the neutral world. Germany's peace aims were inadmissible largely because they made no provision for the restoration of Belgium and Northern France. To the Entente the beginnings of any

just peace, still had to be reparation, restoration, and restitution. There was no other way while the Belgian crime stood, while the criminal remained with his gains still unrestored. The determination of the Allied Governments was fixt and irrevocable. So long as there existed in Germany a vast military force controlled by an irresponsible Government the Entente would not think of peace.

The proud Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs had been consulted by the Bolsheviki at a time when the German and Austrian people had an intense longing for peace. No moving force except a vehement demand from these people could have driven the Central Powers into so extraordinary a course. Men could well believe now all that had been rumored, and all that Czernin had said in his letter to the Emperor of Austria, of the desperate plight of the civilian population in Austria and Germany. Into the very soul of those nations the cruel military paradox had eaten. Their arms were nearly everywhere invincible, occupied thousands of square miles of enemy territory and every effort to break through their defense had proved of little avail. And yet all this appearance of victory was attended by increasing disaster for Germany. The grip of the naval blockade was firm on her throat. Privation and distress among her poor mounted day by day. Absolute exhaustion was threatened unless haste was made to secure peace. Hence we had the spectacle of the Teutonic Powers jumping at the chance offered them by the crazy and irresponsible Bolsheviki. To negotiate with men having so uncertain a hold on office was an act of sheer desperation. To Bismarck it would have seemed like negotiating with the Paris Commune.

Germany in the Russian territory she had overrun proposed to garrison leading towns and then hold an election to determine what the people who occupied it desired. The original population in large part had, however, either been destroyed by starvation, or by war, or had been deported into Germany to work. Those who remained were Germans, or people completely controlled by Germans, or who would be if the territory was garrisoned by Germans. No one could doubt the outcome of a plebiscite in such conditions. The true meaning of the proposal penetrated Russian in-

telligence and the terms were refused. Apparently the Germans in their grandiose demand had given a shock even to the Bolsheviki which for a time upset all their expectations. Dissatisfaction with the proposals apparently did not obtain solely with the Bolsheviki, but among some of the delegates of the Central Powers. Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey were not in harmony with the domineering attitude the Germans had shown, but evinced a disposition to compromise. At home the attitude of German Socialists against the demands of the Central Powers, especially those providing for the retention of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and other occupied territory, finally forced the Imperial Chancellor to refer the situation to the main committee of the Reichstag.

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COUNT CZERNIN, THE AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

Russia had been swept off her feet by a home demand for peace, which was partly idealistic, partly inspired by war-fatigue. A transport of peace enthusiasm had reached its highest wave when Germany offered what seemed to Russia a democratic peace. But after Russia saw what Germany's real purpose was, six hundred delegates in Petrograd gave to a war-speech by Trotzky before the Soviets enthusiastic and convincing applause. No war speech by Kerensky had ever won applause so earnest. The scene attained its most inspiring height when a Baltic delegate cried: "The Baltic flag will be the last to come down." Fourteen of the fifteen Russian armies at the front were represented at this meeting. Of these thirteen reported that the soldiers were ready to return to the front. News of this attitude made startling reading in Berlin. Demoralized and exhausted Russia was apparently holding at bay the arrogant Germans. It seemed for a time as if the Russians had become conquerors who

were imposing terms upon a vanquished empire, or that German diplomacy once more had blundered. Germany had made a fair-sounding offer of peace, but with secret intention of annexing Courland and Lithuania, and marking off Poland as future prey. It was a pretty scheme, but untutored men in Petrograd had detected it. German imperialism had been unmasked, they were saying. All their talk now was of breaking off the parley and fighting desperately against Germany until she was ready to consent to a truly democratic peace.

With all her blunders Russia had placed a finger on the sore spot in Germany's position. The Kaiser and the military party had been in desperate need of having something like plunder to dangle before the eyes of their people, for if the war ended without plunder, they might tremble for the future. For years they had preached of faith in the army and of submission to the Hohenzollerns as the sure way of making Germany richer and greater at the expense of her neighbors. Preparations for war had been intensified into the leading industry of the empire, on which the ultimate returns would be gigantic. But if, after years of frightful struggle and suffering, there were to be no indemnities, no annexations—not even disguised annexations—the whole military fabric in Germany would be endangered, and the dynasty itself imperiled. Hence the consternation of the Kaiser's peace delegates when told by the Russians that this war must end absolutely without plunder.

It was an act of audacious defiance which for the time being discomfited the hopes and upset the plans of the Kaiser's agents. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the German and Austrian Emperors conferred with their chiefs of state and their foreign ministers, and sent them back to Brest-Litovsk post haste to correct the situation. Not alone were leaders among the counter revolution in Russia dissatisfied with the terms of the Central Powers, but heads of German Socialist factions volubly exprest antagonism to those sections of the treaty which called for the retention by Germany of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and other Russian territory. Trotsky, under pressure and as the mouthpiece of the Bolsheviki, announced in defiant terms

that the Russian workers would not accept what he called "hypocritical" peace proposals. If the Central Powers did not agree to the free destiny of the Polish and Lettish nations it would be necessary to "defend the revolution."

It was the Ukrainians, or a faction of them rather than the Bolsheviki, who sincerely sought to save Russia. Until Ukrainians arrived at Brest-Litovsk, Trotzky and his Bolsheviki had been held in the German trap. They had disbanded the army, and all thought of resistance was at end. Russian troops still at the front were fraternizing with the Germans, a brisk trade was going on across the frontier, and the hotels at Petrograd were filled with German and Austrian officers who were applying all the pressure in their power to the Bolsheviki. The German terms had been deftly presented in a way to facilitate the execution of a separate peace, when the Ukrainians appeared in Brest-Litovsk and made their position known. They would recognize no peace in the making of which they were not officially represented. This was a surprize and a shock to the Germans who had assumed that they were negotiating with Russia; but now discovered that the Bolsheviki were not Russia, only a temporary faction of it and not representative. The Germans were forced to show their hand prematurely, and on January 6 it was announced that the peace negotiations were "temporarily suspended."

The Russians hastened back to Petrograd, where they exposed to the world the fact that the Germans were seeking a degree of territorial and economic aggrandizements that surpassed anything Napoleonic. With this exposure all German peace efforts with Allied peoples collapsed completely. Not even the Socialists, or the labor elements in Entente countries desired peace on terms which would add 20,000,000 people to the subject races of Europe and put Russia's economic future at the mercy of Germany. The essential fraud of the whole performance could no longer be hidden. Germany was still seeking war profits, world power, and European supremacy. That was the resulting value of the episode, the great service rendered to the Entente cause. When the Germans talked about humanity, liberty for small peoples, and international law, they did not mean to acknowl-

edge the principles, except as it was convenient to them to do so. When they talked about "no annexations and no indemnities" they did not accept the fact, but merely seized upon it as a phrase likely to be useful to them. The moment when the test came their purpose asserted itself, and the device was cast aside. The world had discovered that the German in 1918 was exactly what he was in 1914; that his designs upon his neighbors and upon world liberties were what they had been when he precipitated the great struggle with civilization.

Germany's peace proposals or "feelers" to the Entente, as coming through the Russians, called forth from Lloyd George in the first week of January a notable speech at a meeting of labor men from whom his speech received full indorsement. He declared that Great Britain was "with France to the death in this war" and that there must be a "reconsideration" of the Alsace-Lorraine question. Great Britain had no desire to change the government of Germany, but when the time came she expected to deal, not with an autocracy, but with a liberalized government. Germany, he said, must restore Belgium and Serbia and other Balkan States must regain their freedom. As for Russia, "only she could save herself." In a league of nations he saw the only assurance of lasting peace. The support which British labor accorded the speech gave to Germany a distinct surprize. The speech reached Germany at a time when an illusion had been assiduously fostered that the Entente were on the verge of breaking up. In these circumstances the people of Germany found it difficult, if not impossible, to believe that Lloyd George represented the whole British nation and, what was more, that he spoke for the Allies. The German people, having been assured for three and one-half years that Germany was victor in the war, could not understand how Lloyd George could have the audacity to formulate war-aims inconsistent with their triumph. It was all the more disappointing to them since the Russian negotiations were then regarded as the beginning of a liquidation of the war.

On January 8, 1918, President Wilson went unexpectedly to the Capitol, and, in perhaps his most notable war-speech up to this time—the "Fourteen Points" speech—addrest

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POPE BENEDICT XV

Congress on the aims of the United States in the war. In this speech our country was for the first time actually committed to the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, to the return of the Italian provinces to Italy, to an independent Poland, and to a fairly detailed settlement of the Balkan and Turkish questions. The President declared for the evacuation of Russian territory, apparently no matter what concessions Germany might be able to extort from Russia through the Bolsheviki. He set forth as the first condition of peace publicity in all diplomatic arrangements. He left room for trading with Germany as to details, since no language could be so explicit as to exclude all bargaining, but a principle which admitted of no compromise underlay every one of the fourteen terms he laid down. He defined that principle as "Justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak." Lloyd George had said, as to Alsace-Lorraine, that there must be a "reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871." Mr. Wilson said that the "wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871, in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted." No other utterance of the President's evoked a response in Congress equal to that which followed this declaration. The members of the combined Houses rose to their feet and cheered. Even for Belgium less feeling was shown than for Alsace-Lorraine.

After President Wilson's conditions were laid down, no one in Washington saw any hope for any early peace. Granted a free hand in Russia, Germany might agree to reparation and restoration in the west, and to concessions to Italy, but the President's speech closed the door to Germany in Russia and the east just as effectively as it had closed the door to her in the west. As to Russia, Mr. Wilson differed strikingly from Lloyd George. The British Premier held out no hope to Russia, then seeking a ruinous peace with Germany, exprest no sympathy with the aspirations of the troubled Russian Democracy, even going so far as to suggest dissatisfaction with its rulers. But Mr. Wilson's speech was full of sympathy for Russia, whose rulers were not excluded

from his consideration. "Their conception," he said, "of what is right, of what is human and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, generosity of spirit, and a universal sympathy which must challenge the admiration of mankind." One of the conditions of peace which he had named called for "the evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of all the nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy." His promise of aid to Russia and his demand for the evacuation of Russian territory were not conditioned on any attitude Russia might take in her peace negotiations with Germany. Even if Russia should make a separate peace, Mr. Wilson apparently would still demand that she be rehabilitated when the Allies came to a settlement with the Central Powers. Russia had asked for the Entente war-aims and he had given them to a degree never before attempted.[4] Among countless statements and restatements of war-aims, Mr. Wilson's was the one that stood forth as comprehensive and final—a statement that became the basis of the terms of peace at the end of the war.

Mr. Wilson, in reply to the peace-letter of the Pope, had said that "the object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and actual power of a vast military establishment, controlled by an irresponsible Government"; until that deliverance was achieved there could be no peace, for peace otherwise could have no real foundation. "We shall never sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn," said Mr. Asquith in his Guildhall declaration of 1914, "until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed." These were the foundations, the irrevocable, unchanging declarations of war aims by which all subsequent professions were to be tested. The President in his speech to Congress on January 8, said as to Germany: "We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery." That was the very

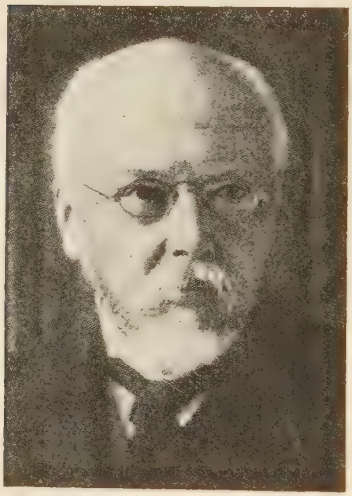
[4] For the text of Wilson's "Fourteen Points" speech, see Chapter II in the part on the Peace Treaty, in Volume X.

soul of the address, the rock of safety upon which statesmen, soldiers, and people had arrayed themselves against Germany. It was often remarked that Mr. Wilson's words constituted "a second Emancipation Proclamation." As Lincoln had freed the slaves of the South half a century before, so now Mr. Wilson had pledged his country to fight for the liberation of the Belgian, the Pole, the Serb, and the Roumanian, and to the long-suffering populations of Alsace-Lorraine and the Italian Irredenta had given promise of a new national life. Without selfish ambition, without hope or covert thought of their own advantage, the United States had entered the World War to restore justice, honor, and liberty in a world that had been assailed by German barbarism and German ambition. The address was accepted in England as having definitely and for the first time put the seal of American approval upon the war-aims of the European Allies.

The German Government at this time notified the Allies through the Swiss Government that if pilots of airplanes dropt Allied propaganda—meaning in particular President Wilson's speech—on German's soil, they would be shot to pieces if taken. There was nothing inconsistent to the curious German mind in thus making outlaws of men engaged in hostile propaganda. By diverse means, including the forgery of Italian newspapers, Germany had recently conducted in Italy a missionary campaign disastrous to the Italians, and in every country, from China to Peru, before the war and since, had carried on a propaganda to strengthen herself and sow dissension, rebellion, and treason among her rivals and enemies. In the United States, as elsewhere, her diplomacy and business interests had stopt at nothing, knowing no law but the needs of Germany, and their methods were still at work. But the scattering of copies of Mr. Wilson's address from airships was to be punished with death by a government whose expert sabotage corps had blown up American ships and munition factories, had incited strikes from one coast to the other, and been continually active with torch and bomb. Peace movements, Sinn Fein sedition, a great network and succession of German-directed societies of many names, spies of many nationalities, fomenters of discontent and disorder —what subtlety of invention, of brutality, of execution had

been wanting to the German propaganda here? Marvelous indeed it was that at the end of the war surrender was the basis of the only peace Germany could get.

Replies to the general peace terms which President Wilson had named were made in Berlin for both Germany and Austria on January 26. Count Czernin, speaking in behalf of Austria, used language that might have been expected from a statesman who knew his country could not much longer bear the strain of war and was willing to go to considerable lengths in making overtures of peace; but the German Chancellor in making reply delivered an address which "read like a lecture by Treitschke." So far was it from being an advance toward peace or an invitation to a discussion of peace, that it was accepted as a mere repetition of the defiant and arrogant presentations of the German position of which the world had already had many. But there was an unmistakable peace overture in Count Czernin's speech. It was obvious to him, he declared, that an exchange of views between America and Austria-Hungary "might form a starting-point for a conciliatory discussion among all the States which have not yet entered into peace negotiations." The interests of Austria-Hungary and the United States "were less incompatible than they seemed," and he recognized in President Wilson's definition of war-aims "an important advance toward the Austro-Hungarian viewpoint," which, if true, meant that the Austro-Hungarian viewpoint was not at all that of Germany.



CHANCELLOR VON HERTLING
Hertling resigned in October, 1918. In January, 1919, his death was announced from Munich

Nothing was more arrogant in Hertling than his declaration that the question of northern France could be discust "only by France and Germany." The question of northern France

was, as a matter of fact, the concern of all the other Allies, who would no more lay down their arms with German troops occupying that territory, or with Germany reserving any claim upon it, than they would lay them down until Belgium had been evacuated and restored. This was the most characteristically German passage in the speech, but its tone in regard to Alsace-Lorraine was equally impossible. Hertling must have known that his historical argument put forth to justify the seizing of the French provinces in 1871 had no validity. Nor was his argument in respect to the language spoken in Alsace-Lorraine entitled to any more respect. Thousands who had left the provinces and gone to France in order to retain their nationality had spoken German from childhood, and great numbers of the present inhabitants, while speaking German, were against inclusion in the German Empire and ardently desired to be restored to France. Four of the war-aims stated by President Wilson which Hertling said Germany could accept "without difficulty," were of trivial importance compared with the one great aim of the Allies, which was the overthrow of the Prussian military spirit.

The difference in the tone of the two Teutonic addresses was vital and significant. It did not escape the attention of Allied Chancelleries, and tended to confirm a pre-existing belief that the road to peace negotiations led, if anywhere, through Austria. Austria had no desire to continue the war for the sake of securing northern France to Germany, or of securing the latter's hold upon Alsace-Lorraine. No indications were found in the replies of a desire on Germany's part to concede anything, nor of a possibility on Austria's part of escaping German domination. Germany would not talk of peace otherwise than as a victor; Austria could not and dared not act independently. It meant nothing for Germany to announce her adhesion to President Wilson's first four points, for each of these dealt with general principles, and each could be defined diversely. What Germany might regard as open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, trade equality, and reduction of armaments no one as yet knew. In Germany's dealings with Russia, she had accepted the principle of "no annexations and no indemnities," and then

had quickly unmasked her real intention, which was to hold possession of a vast amount of Russian territory. As to other and concrete points in Mr. Wilson's program, Germany's Chancellor was either evasive or scornfully defiant

Optimistic pacifists who held that actual peace negotiations were now in progress, and that Hertling and Czernin and Lloyd George were engaged in arranging the preliminaries, lost sight of the fact that peace by negotiations could come only through a meeting of conciliatory minds How far opposing minds were in a way of meeting, how far the fighting powers were approaching an agreement or even trying to reach one, could be judged by setting the words of President Wilson over against some words of Emperor Wilhelm, that were uttered at this time. Mr. Wilson said that we could not "consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force," that we desired a new international order of reason and justice, and that "having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back." The German Emperor declared that those who would not have peace as Germany desired it "must be forced to have peace." "We desire to live in friendship with neighboring peoples," he added, "but first the victory of German arms must be recognized."

Here was a difference so wide that it would have dissolved any peace conference that ever assembled. As viewed by the Entente Allies, diplomacy had degenerated in Hertling's address into mere verbal jockeying, in which further participation by self-respecting nations was impossible. His overtures were generally received with contempt. Mr. Wilson had definitely declared what the war-aims of the Entente Allies were, but Hertling in every restatement of German policy descended to still lower depths of evasion. In his utterance there was not a thought that honestly responded to the address of the President to Congress or the speeches of Lloyd George in the House of Commons. What availed it that the German Chancellor declared his fundamental agreement "with the four principles" laid down in Mr. Wilson's address, when not only his other statements were at war with those principles, but the behavior of German armed forces in Russia had shown that she

categorically rejected all the principles laid down as fundamental? Forestalling the action of any peace congress, Germany had seized upon the Baltic territory of Russia, fully intending to control Russia as a means of fortifying herself to make war again upon civilized nations. There could be no peace or hope of peace until she was compelled to get out of Russia altogether, to withdraw her troops from Belgium and from other lands she had overrun, to restore Alsace-Lorraine to France and go under bonds of good behavior acceptable to the Allies. Those were the unchangeable aims of the war, and there could be no assured peace until they had been achieved.

Hertling's part in the war-game seemed to have become that of supplying camouflage behind which the real sovereign power, the High General Staff, could carry on ruthless war-like operations, or, as another English writer remarked, he had "come forward as a harmless dove, cooing for peace, while the Prussian eagle was thrusting its claws into the flesh of Russia." His business was to entangle some, or all, of the Allies in negotiations, as Kuhlmann had entangled the deluded Russians at Brest-Litovsk, after which Hindenburg and Ludendorff, the real sovereign power, would settle the terms and policy on principles which they chose to impose with the sword. Now, as formerly, when Germany had made some striking advance on the war-map, and greatly to her surprize had failed to strike terror into the hearts of the only adversaries she feared, her next move had been to reopen a discussion of peace terms. On February 11 President Wilson went before Congress with a speech in which he sought to show the German people that it was not themselves, but their Government that stood between them and peace.

When Germany, on February 18, resumed war on Russia, perhaps the greatest of her blunders, she helped firmly to consolidate against her all freedom-loving peoples. Brute force and treachery had now thrown off the mask. Even Germans—some of them at least—squirmed, and Austria was understood to have refused to take part in the dastardly work. Under this military pressure the Bolsheviki Government was soon compelled by Germany to accept further so-called terms, which involved giving up one-fourth of Russia's

European territory. After Germany began to overrun Russia, Hertling had the effrontery to say that Germany could "fundamentally agree with President Wilson's peace terms." Allied statesmen at that time were denouncing Germany's action in Russia as "assassination," and repudiating the peace treaties she had imposed on the country. Germany had demanded that, as the price of peace, Russia should surrender all her territory west of a line drawn from the eastern side of the Gulf of Riga to the eastern boundary of Galicia, comprising about 12,000 square miles and between twenty and thirty millions inhabitants, and, as has already been said, that she should give Germany control of the entire Russian wheat crop for a term of years, and admit all German manufactures into the Russian Empire free of duty, thus making Russia an industrial and commercial appanage of Germany.

The armistice which had begun on December 15 came to an end on February 18, and promptly on that date, German armies began an advance into Russia, and met with no opposition as they crossed the eastern front, which had remained almost immovable for more than a year. The Dvina, between Riga and Dvinsk, where Hindenburg had been held in check, was now unguarded. The Germans passed over into Livonia and Esthonia without a fight. As soon as the advance was under way, Lenine and Trotzky sent out by wireless a message to Berlin announcing their willingness to accept the German terms. Evidence enough that Lenine and Trotzky were German agents was seen by some observers in the smoothness with which Russian events took shape to Germany's advantage, in the declaration which demobilized the Russian armies, in the German invasion of Russia, with its virtually unopposed capture of Lutsk and Dvinsk. So easy was the capture of these important Russian cities, "as almost to suggest that the Bolshevik chiefs had suggested the demonstration in order to justify their complete submission to the German terms." When the German army of invasion crossed the Dvina and took Dvinsk, there was not enough of the Russian army left to destroy bridges. Germans met with some resistance, however, on the road to Petrograd. The heaviest fighting was near Pskoff, 160 miles

southwest of Petrograd, which changed hands several times. While the German Government was trying to convince the world of its disinterestedness as to the future of Russia, the advance toward Petrograd still went on. The Germans

GERMANY'S FIRST USE OF THE IDEA OF "NO ANNEXATIONS"

The map shows the Baltic and Gulf of Finland areas, which Germany first set out to obtain and keep under her treaty with the Bolsheviki. Russian Poland, of which Warsaw is the capital, she already had acquired by conquest, but had exprest a willingness to include it in a new State of Poland; autonomous it was to be, but with a Teutonic king. Later events showed that the Baltic Provinces did not set permanent limits to Germany's territorial ambitions in Russia. They went further east and included the vast and fertile Ukrainian country

pushed far to the eastward of Pskoff, finally reached Luga, midway between Pskoff and Petrograd, and captured Borisoff, sixty miles northeast of Minsk.

On March 3 the Bolsheviki bowed to the inevitable. At Brest-Litovsk they signed the treaty of peace as presented by the Germans. They said they had realized that any further

delay would have meant more onerous conditions. In the interval since the breaking up of the first Brest-Litovsk meeting, the Central Powers had added materially to the demands outlined when the "Hoffman line" was drawn by the commander of the German forces on the Eastern Front, this as a penalty for delay in acceding to their demands. Turkey was the beneficiary of these changes. Russia was now to relinquish to the Turks the oil regions of Batum, as well as Kars and Karaband. Such was the peace to which rule by the Bolsheviki had brought Russia. It lasted for some months only. In November, by the terms of the armistice, the Brest-Litovsk treaty as well as the equally impossible peace forced on Roumania were abrogated, and General Hoffman was vainly trying to find some cause for Germany's collapse other than the true one, now obvious to all other men.

Hoffman, who had signed the Brest-Litovsk treaty as a representative of Germany, after the war had reason to remember his arrogance—he was typical of Prussian arrogance—to the Russians. In March, 1919, he said to a newspaper correspondent:[5] "Germany was not beaten on the Western Front. Neither Marshal Foch, nor Field-Marshal Haig, nor General Pershing defeated the German armies. Germany was defeated by an upstart named Lenine." Such was the opinion of the man who had been chief of staff of Germany's eastern armies for three years, and who had been spoken of by the Germans as the brains behind Hindenburg and the real victor in the battle of Tannenberg. "You ask me what I consider lost the war for Germany," he continued, "my answer is Bolshevism. I will tell you what was the last moment that marked the beginning of the end. It was when General Ludendorff telephoned me at the headquarters on the Eastern Front from France to sign peace—any peace—with any Russian able to write his name. The Americans are coming, and we need every corps we have on the Western Front. Make peace with Russia and release our armies there at once." The Russian revolution killed our hopes; it didn't make them. Making peace with Bolshevik Russia was suicide, though we didn't know it at the time. Immediately upon signing with the Bolsheviki we discovered

[5] Ben. Hecht of The Chicago *Daily News*.

that we had been conquered by them instead of having conquered them. Our victorious army became rotten with Bolshevism. Our military machine became the printing-press of the Bolshevist propaganda. We did not dare to send a corps of the German Bolshevists to the Western Front. What was worse, thousands of Bolsheviki entered Germany. It was Lenine and Bolshevist propaganda that defeated Germany, undermined the morale, and stirred up the quack Socialists in the country."

General Hoffmann gave in this interview an example of the strange workings of the German mind so given to dismissal of any unwelcome facts. As to the result of this war, it was a fact plain as a pike-staff that Bolshevik propaganda after the treaty was signed, did not keep German troops from marching into the heart of Russia and threatening Petrograd itself; that it did not prevent the transfer by Germany of at least half a million men to aid Ludendorff in the west. Far from being undermined in morale, it was admitted by the Allies down to the very end of October, 1918, that German troops fought heroically the kind of battle which most severely tests courage and discipline—a retreat against superior numbers to an inevitable defeat. Into the attacks which began in March, 1918, Ludendorff put every ounce of German strength. His blow failed to get home and left him exhausted. Then Foch fell upon him with numbers which every day became more and more overwhelmingly superior.

Germany surrendered not under Lenine's influence, but because the British were entering Valenciennes; the French were close to Sedan; nearly 900,000 Americans, thrown into mud and jungle between the Meuse and the Argonne, were hacking away at the nerve-strings of the German line of communications, until the last strand was about to snap; and because another great army of Americans and French stood around Nancy waiting the word to jump for Metz and deliver the knockout blow. Instead of receiving a blow on the jaw around Metz, the German preferred to throw up the sponge in the Ardennes. Men like Hoffmann, who really believed, or affected to believe, that Bolshevik propaganda and revolution at Berlin had defeated the German army, should have asked themselves what would have happened if

Ludendorff had not been stopt by the Americans at Château-Thierry and by Gouraud around Reims. If Ludendorff had taken Paris, Lesumably have been nine might prethe victor over France and Great Britain, for revolution would then have broken forth in Paris, Dublin, Cairo, and possibly in London. Of some value on this point were the words of Ludendorff and Hindenburg. Ludendorff had explained his defeat as due to his predecessor's mistakes. Hindenburg had asked pathetically "what good it would have done if William II had put himself at the head of his troops and ridden forth; it would only have been to meet death," which sounds very much as if there had been a military decision.[6]

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MILITARY PUNISHMENT BY GERMANS OF A BOLSHEVIKI SOLDIER IN RIGA

The Germans for the time being ceased operations in Russia, but they struck out against Finland. Ostensibly the operations, which were carried out from bases in the Aland Islands, had as their purpose the driving of the Finnish revolutionists and Bolshevik Red Guards from southern Finland. Germany's ambitions in this region had in view securing control of southwestern Finland as far as Helsingfors. This stretch of territory along the northern shores of the Gulf of Finland, taken in conjunction with the holdings of Germans on the southern shore in the region of Reval, would have given them absolute mastery over the western approaches to the Gulf and paralyzed completely the movement of Russian ships of war or commerce into the Baltic.

[6] The *Evening Post* (New York).

GERMANY'S BIDS FOR PEACE

On April 6, which was the first anniversay of America's entrance into the war, President Wilson delivered an address in Baltimore in which he launched at the Prussian autocracy perhaps the most penetrating and crushing arraignment ever made against a great nation. In his peroration he accepted, in the name of the United States, the German challenge, and said this country would meet it with "force, force to the utmost." On July 4 he spoke again at the tomb of Washington in the presence of representatives of Entente Governments and committed the United States to fighting until the world was free. "What we seek," he said, in a concluding sentence, much quoted afterward, "is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

After the armistice of November 11 had been signed, Count Czernin discust (on December 8) in public, the efforts he had made on behalf of the Austrian Government to end the war long before it was ended. The Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, he said, was the work of the German military leaders. He painted Ludendorff as the man who on many occasions had stood between the Central Empires and peace. Whenever any efforts to induce the German Government to make concessions seemed near success, Ludendorff was always adamant. "With the knowledge of Emperor Charles," Czernin said he had proposed to Emperor William that Austria should give Germany Galicia and permit her to have her own way in Russian-Poland, provided Alsace and Lorraine were ceded to France. He had presented that plan to Germany as long ago as when Bethmann-Hollweg was Chancellor, but the Chancellor told him he was "forced to decline to enter into the scheme." Altho the situation of Germany was then critical, "nothing could be done." The conversations in Berlin were pleasant and friendly enough; Austria's proposed sacrifices were appreciated by German officials, but matters could not be arranged, because Germany "was obliged to obey the military party."

Having failed in his first effort, Czernin sent a man to Berlin to talk with Erzberger, the Clerical leader, and tell him why the war must end and "give him to understand that peace resolutions should be introduced in the Reichstag, di-

rected against both the military party and Pan-Germans." At this injunction, German armies unfortunately "began to win victories once more and so the Reichstag would do nothing. When Germany was winning, Ludendorff "would not consent to peace negotiations." and Emperor William, meanwhile "could not bring himself to yield Alsace and Lorraine." "Every way to get out of the war was tried by us," said Czernin, "excepting war with Germany." He added that "when one considered how much weaker than Germany Austria was, it could be seen how impossible it was for us to dictate terms." Czernin's statement at this time was strikingly in accord with his letter to Emperor Charles, dated April, 1917, already referred to in this chapter. As to the Brest-Litovsk negotiations where he represented Austria, Czernin said in his statement of December 8, 1918:

DR. RICHARD VON KÜHLMANN
German Foreign Secretary in 1917-1918, who, with General Hoffmann, enforced the Brest-Litovsk peace upon Russia

"I signed the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, but we got nothing from it. This fact is worthy of mention. It was Ludendorff who forced Kühlmann, the Foreign Secretary, to make that peace. We occupied the southern end of the line, whereas Germany had her troops against the line in the north. General Hoffmann then declared he would move on Petrograd if Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, did not sign the treaty. Kühlmann and I hoped to make peace with Russia on the basis of President Wilson's principles, but Ludendorff always telegraphed 'no' to our proposals. I worked day and night to bring Kühlmann and Trotzky together. At the last moment the latter sent his famous telegram to the world, demanding that the German people revolt and destroy their government. This telegram inflamed Berlin, which denounced Trotzky as a man with whom it would not treat. Trotzky was informed

then that the German troops would occupy Courland and Lithuania and would advance on Petrograd."

Nothing but an invincible confidence in their ability to fool the Entente Powers could account for the persistency with which the German Government had returned again and again to discussion of a common basis for peace. As it was a desperate gamble to which the men who controlled the destinies of Germany had committed themselves, the formulation of vague peace proposals, with a view to introducing confusion into the councils of the Allies, constantly commended itself to the Teutonic mind as a master-stroke of diplomacy. Failure after failure followed their efforts, but nothing gave pause to further attempts by them.[7]

[7] Principal Sources: The "Military Expert" of The New York *Times;* The *Evening Sun,* The *Evening Post,* The *Tribune,* The *World, The Outlook,* The *Wall Street Journal,* New York; Associated Press dispatches.

III

FINAL PEACE BIDS, WITH "PARIS BY APRIL 1" AS THE ALTERNATIVE—AMERICANS ON THE FIRING-LINE

February, 1918—March 21, 1918

WITH the failure of peace proposals to the Entente through the Bolsheviki, there came, early in February, new reports from German sources of a great offensive in the west. Major Von Olberg, head of the War Press Bureau in Berlin, published in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, an official organ, an authorized statement that "the year of decision has dawned." Everything the Entente could do was belittled; the Americans would arrive too late; they had only "a wooden sword" and victory was certain for Germany. "The great blow can now fall," said Olberg, "whenever and wherever Hindenburg wishes. "We know," this inspired writer added, "that he will choose the time and place that will lead to victory." America might do her utmost to "assist with money and war material," and might send many "technical troops and aviators," but they would be inexperienced and lack training, while "we Germans are prepared for every contingency." Hindenburg at this time proclaimed that his army "would be in Paris by April 1," which fixt the time at what had familiarly been known outside of Germany, if not in Germany, as "All Fools' Day." Hindenburg made his statement in reply to a delegation of thirty German newspaper editors who called to tell him that by May 1 "there would be no food left in Germany." That the Germans would be in Paris on April 1, it was learned afterward, had for many weeks been the general expectation of the German army men in Berlin and elsewhere. Indeed they had referred to it as a matter of common understanding.

Newspaper boastings from Germany aroused new suspicion among the Entente. Germany at no other time in the war

had announced in advance any of her offensives—not the one before Verdun in 1916, not the attack on the Dunajec in 1915, nor the drive into Italy in 1917. Some readers were reminded of German boasts, after the retreat east of Arras in 1917, that the retreat was a "victorious" one, to be followed by an early offensive, and they recalled that no real German offensive had ever come. In fact, for months after this retreat Germany had been kept on the defensive and subjected to heavy losses in men, guns and territory—on the Flemish ridges on the Chemin-des-Dames, at Cambrai, and around Verdun.

A statement made at this time in the Bavarian Diet that the German dead now numbered 1,500,000, was the first German estimate of losses made public since the Imperial Government, by the end of June, 1917, ceased to publish casualty lists when the lists showed 1,105,760 dead, with 592,000 missing and about 3,000,000 wounded. These figures tended to confirm current estimates that not many more than 2,000,000 fighting men were on the Western Front after the Russian front had been combed of its best effectives, which meant that the Germans were outnumbered by the Entente forces, and that this preponderance of the Entente would be increased. Such were some of the conditions under which an offensive by the Germans would have to be undertaken.

American forces in France now held a position on the firing-line in Lorraine, which put them in the neighborhood of St. Mihiel, some twenty miles south of Verdun. Included in the area was Domrémy, the birthplace of Joan of Arc. Here small fighting and raiding had begun early in February and afforded an indication as to how soon our men might be expected to play a part in the war. Here French forces alone had defended France until now. Except for the stand before Paris and its sequel, in September, 1914, no British major units had operated east of the River Oise, which, after descending from the Belgian frontier running southeastward, joins the Seine west of Paris. Not even the peril of Verdun had drawn a British army across the Oise, but Pershing having started in Lorraine, the promise was that he would continue to operate in that area. It gratified many Americans to know that their flag was in Lorraine, for

the time might come when United States troops would cover a large part of Alsace-Lorraine, and that territory be regained for France as part of our national purpose. The home country soon caught the fervor of that idea, especially when the American sector began in February to resound with the boom of guns. Americans in this action tore up German front trenches, blew up several dugouts and cut wire entanglements. Little damage was done to the American position which, in fact, was afterward extended over a wider region. Aerial reconnaissance showed that the gun-fire of America had a destructive effect. At least three German dugouts were demolished.

When the United States entered the war practically all the ports of northern France had become congested by the transport service from British and French fronts, so that new means of receiving the American army and its supplies had to be found, such as would not embarrass the British and French. France, for other reasons, wanted the American troops to fight alongside her own soldiers. The result was the selection for the Americans of this region in eastern France. During seven months a tremendous amount of railroad work comprising more than 600 miles of new construction, had been done by the Americans with terminals and dock facilities on the coast entirely independent of the French and British, but this work did not include any new line of road across France. In total this new construction was about equal to three times our Lehigh Valley system. As already stated, Colonel Parsons and Colonel Wilgus were the American engineers directly in charge of the work, altho General William W. Atterbury, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, was the director of operations in France.

A sense of the dramatic seemed to have dictated February 1 as the day when American troops should be definitely in the trenches, and under gun-fire. Just one year before that date the unrestricted *U*-boat war had been declared by Germany. Elsewhere on the Western Front for several weeks inactivity had prevailed, but scarcely any word even of minor sections had reached this country. Philip Gibbs[8] thought all

[8] Correspondent of The *Daily Chronicle* (London) and The *Times* (New York).

this was merely "the hush before the storm." Here and there along the front for an hour or two might be seen fire that was fierce and concentrated as long as it lasted, to which British guns would answer with sudden gusts of fury, but there was nothing systematic, only "the harassing fire of winter warfare." There still reigned over battlefields "a strange, unearthly silence between these bouts," when it seemed "as tho nature herself was in suspense, waiting,

AMERICAN TROOPS GOING TO THE FRONT
In the center, looking back, is the French officer who trained them for war work

watching, and listening for the beginning of that conflict which was expected to occur before the year grew much older, perhaps before the first crocus thrust itself up through the moist leaves, and before there was the first glint of green in the woods." Sometimes over a wide expanse not a gun would be fired. At such times "life seemed to have gone from the land; no bird sang in thickets, no smoke curled from chimneys behind the German lines; all was dead

and still." Even the wind, soft and warm, "seemed to hold its breath, expectant of things that one day would break the spell of silence and shock the sky."

German artillery on February 10 began an intensive bombardment of British positions in the Houtholst Forest and at points north of Ypres and southwest of Cambrai. Violent duels at the same time were in progress between the Germans and French in the Champagne, on the Verdun sector and in the Vosges. There was increased activity on both sides of the Moselle, where artillery was engaged in a terrific duel, the horizon suddenly breaking out "in a saw-toothed ribbon of flame" at 7 o'clock at night. Guns here began to pound the American position and American guns set the sky ablaze. "Whole sprays and clusters of vari-colored rockets and star shells" shot up from the German side, while signals and revealed lights hovered over No Man's Land, "casting a weird glare over the tangle of weeds and wire." Occasional flashes of flames showed where the shells were bursting, but the explosions being of different kinds, were indistinguishable one from another in the roaring din. Americans were getting experience in what a Frenchman called "the small change of war," which was indispensable to them before thinking about participating in real battles. It needed such an experience as this to convince unreasoning optimists at home and at the front that one American could not "lick ten Germans." The German was in general a good fighter, but this was mainly true only when three or four of them had only one man as an antagonist. Germans often dodged a fight where the odds were not that way. Here on the Lorraine front the Germans seemed anxious to gage the position occupied by the Americans and to ascertain the number of men employed. German aircraft hovered every day over the lines, taking photographs and making observations.

The American forces were now protecting something less than an eight-mile stretch of line on the Lorraine sector, from near Flirey westward toward Apremont. Their front lay in the larger section which extended eastward from St. Mihiel to Pont-à-Mousson. A highway connected these points. Americans and French had trenches north of this highway.

From St. Mihiel to a point east of Apremont the French occupied trenches and from that point to the neighborhood of Flirey the Americans held the line. From Flirey east to Pont-à-Mousson and beyond the French were again in control. On the road between St. Mihiel and Pont-à-Mousson the points behind the American part of the line were Bauconville, Rambucourt, and Beaumont. North of these were Loupmont, Zivray, and Seicheprey, which as nearly as could be deduced, were the points over which the Germans had been sending aircraft to take photographs of the American positions.

The Lorraine front was inactive and had been so for nearly three years. The French naturally appreciated the moral value of placing our troops opposite their "lost provinces," both because they would see for themselves and inform their fellow-countrymen of the basis for the French desire to reconquer their old territory and because the French believed that if Alsace-Lorraine were reconquered by American troops, the provinces would have to be retained for France before any peace negotiations would have American approval. Sentimental considerations were probably of less importance, however, than the material, and those imposed by conditions affecting communications with arriving ports, Bordeaux, La Rochelle and St. Nazaire. The Americans were put in the one place where they could act with the greatest advantage, for it was a place where no immediate attack, dangerous for newly trained troops, was expected. Thus the Americans were holding some little stretch of front between the Vosges and the heights of the Meuse, in the great gap between these two natural obstacles, through which so many invasions had come and gone in past centuries.

An action, small in extent, that took place on February 13, and the first military operation in which French and American troops acted together upon any considerable scale, was known as the action of Tahure, or the Butte de Mesnil, where French infantry were supported by American artillery using the fire of field-pieces in what the French called "barrage" and the English "curtain-fire." The purpose was to test under French eyes the degree of perfection to which American gunners, after their training in France, had ar-

rived in a delicate and specialized kind of warfare, utterly unknown before this war and which had been entirely developed by this war. Training was everything in such an action. As this Tahure operation was successful, it was of good augury for the future. The point where it took place was where the upper course of the Aisne runs along the western border of the Argonne forest, twelve miles due northwest of St. Menehould and about ten miles north, and a trifle west of the Revolutionary battlefield of Valmy. It was thirty-one miles due east from Reims.

February 15, a date which had been named by influential German newspapers for starting the much-advertised offensive, passed without any signs of German aggression, but the British and French on that day delivered at widely separated points attacks on the German line. Altho of the nature of raids only, they were successfully carried out. Canadians on the Lens sector entered trenches and took prisoners. Near Courcy the French undertook a similar maneuver successfully. Near Verdun and in the Woevre reciprocal bombardments occurred of a violent character. Other raids occurred on both sides, but were small episodes which did not count for much in such a war. These adventures in No Man's Land called for elaborate training, organization, and skilful leadership. The nervous strain was intense. Officers who led the raids had a heavy sense of responsibility and many anxious moments. If anything went wrong, if one man did the wrong thing, the whole raiding party might be destroyed. But such work was one of the important steps in war, because in this way knowledge was gained of the troops whom the enemy had on the line. For that reason officers and men often did great service. Upon their skill and courage depended not a little the safety of large armies.

As February wore on past the middle of the month, a German offensive still seemed certain. Observations showed that the Germans had spent infinite labor on barbed wire and other defenses. They had been able to bring artillery from Russia, but not enough to give them an appreciable preponderance, especially in view of their difficulties in transport. Reports were heard of an immense increase in the number of Germans on the front. They were believed to have at the

outside a total of 174 divisions (2,088,000 men, estimating the strength of a division at 12,000), or only twenty-one more (about 252,000 men), than at the time of the Allied onslaught in the spring of 1917, when the Germans were frankly on the defensive—while against that was the fact that the British had increased, the French had been reorganized and the Americans were beginning to take their place in the line. The reorganization of the French army by Pétain had had an effect no less happy than the improvement of the civilian morale in France after Clemenceau was made Prime

AMERICANS, AFTER TRAINING, GOING TO THE TRENCHES

Minister in the previous November. Realization that Americans were now in the war, and the continuous arrival of masses of American troops gave the French something to hope for, while improved arrangements in food distribution had put beyond doubt the possibility of their holding on as long as might be necessary. It was agreed by the best authorities that the greatest possible number the Germans could add to their forces on the Western Front did not exceed twenty divisions, which would have brought the total to 195 divisions (2,340,000 men).

Another Franco-American raid from the Chemin-des-

Dames occurred on February 23, in which twenty-six picked American soldiers participated, every one having volunteered for this service. The Americans moved forward for the action behind a barrage fire. Some made captures, and others chased Prussian troops through trenches as far as 750 meters, going beyond the objectives they sought. The raid had been planned carefully, rehearsals taking place the day before. The barrage fire began at 5.30 o'clock in the morning and continued until 6.35, guns of all calibers taking part. The Americans were surprized at the precision with which French shells fell. After the shell had made a direct hit the Germans scattered about the trench and the Americans and French jumped in. Hand-to-hand fighting ensued and the Germans were captured. The raiders, with their prisoners, started back across No Man's Land on schedule time, but were caught in a German counter-barrage. One shell wounded five Germans and six French, but no Americans were hit.

Meanwhile an artillery duel proceeding in the American sector northwest of Toul continued daily with more intensity. The Germans fired a hundred or more shells during twenty-four hours and began to bombard violently with gas and high-explosive shells. American artillery replied constantly, doing effective work against front-line trenches, battery-positions and wire-entanglements. Numerous working parties also were shelled. American machine-guns fired some thousands of rounds in the rear of German positions where movements of men and material were in progress. Five Americans were killed next day and fifty, who were suffering severely, were sent to hospitals after a first German gas-attack. The attack came suddenly after rain, when the clouds had parted and the moon was shining brightly in the trenches. There was a huge flare from German trenches as minenwerfers were discharged, followed by the detonations of high explosives with the quick spread of deadly gases. Officers ran into a dugout and closed the curtain so tight they narrowly escaped death through asphyxiation from charcoal fires. When the gas came, the men endeavored to adjust their gas-masks, but some were not quick enough and were soon gasping for breath. As their

breathing grew louder and more difficult, choking started, and the doctors hurried oxygen tanks to the side of cots. Men drank in the oxygen with a sigh of satisfaction at the temporary relief.

This was the first use made in the war of gas against the Americans and aroused the entire army to "seeing red." There were two attacks, in which about seventy-five chlorin and phosgene gas-shells, accompanied by high explosives, were thrown. Small balls of fire were first visible, then the entire battery of minenwerfers let go, hurling gas and explosives simultaneously. Men tried to reach their dugouts and signal artillery for a barrage, but the wires from this sector had been severed, so that the barrage was delayed more than forty minutes. In addition to this attack an important village was shelled three times during the night.

On March 1 American troops repulsed a German attack in the salient of Toul. There were many American casualties, but the raid was a failure, German prisoners remaining in American hands and the ground in front of the American trenches being strewn with Gearman dead. A driving wet snow was falling when the Germans opened fire, and seventy-sevens, heavy shells and gas-shells fell in "a perfect whirlwind for half an hour." At the same time, other German shells in great numbers were dropt on battery positions. The Germans let loose quantities of poisonous gas, but the Americans put on their masks and only a few were affected by it. The woods back of the salient were shot to pieces. When the barrage-fire lifted on the trenches, Germans numbering 240 came sweeping forward under its protection, and fierce hand-to-hand fighting began. An American captain, with men having rifles and machine-guns, went through the wire entanglements into No Man's Land, while groups of Germans started back through the wire-entanglements as the Americans poured a deadly fire in upon them. During this fight an American captain was killed. He was the first member of the 1917 class at West Point to lose his life. Two German officers were seen entangled in the wire and many dead bodies were in sight. The Germans had been preparing for this raid for three weeks.

To all appearances events were now speeding up on the

Western Front. A dozen raids had occurred there in thirty-six hours—some important enough almost to be called attacks. Hindenburg seemed to be proving and testing the front everywhere, but was losing heavily in each raid. Premier Clemenceau, who spent March 3 on the American front, northwest of Toul, decorated two lieutenants, two sergeants, and two privates with the Croix de Guerre for the heroism they had displayed. One of the lieutenants was from Brooklyn, the other from Charleston, S. C. In five raids, not a single American had fallen into German hands. While one raid was in progress, a patrol of five met and routed a German patrol of twice that number, after killing two Germans and capturing two others. It was doubtful if any troops on the Western Front had suffered relatively slighter losses during an equal period of time than the Americans in Lorraine. The Americans in the Chemin-des-Dames and Lorraine sectors were not, as yet, in full charge of the positions assigned to them, but were training with French soldiers. Only a position north of Toul was in active control of American troops.

A big gun duel on March 4 developed into an all-day bombardment in which the effectiveness of American artillery was demonstrated, German guns being smothered by American fire. Upward of 3,000 shells were hurled into German defenses. During the height of the bombardment German batteries located in a wood were peppered with gas-shells and high explosives, while 75's poured a rain of metal over trenches and support lines. It was fifteen minutes after the opening salvo before the Germans made any reply, and thirty-five minutes before they had located an American battery. The rumble and thunder of American guns was continuous. From inky blackness the night sky suddenly was illuminated with the brightest red, followed by wave-like flashes of lightning, which big guns pierced with bursts of flame. Rockets could be observed shooting up from German trenches as they signaled artillery. Some of the American troops by March 7 had taken up another position in Lorraine. Altogether more than eight miles of trenches were held by Americans on the Western Front.

Americans had now participated with the French in four

successful raids, in one of which they entered the German lines, while another involved a desperate hand-to-hand fight outside barbed wire. In this last struggle, the Germans, altho numerically superior, were repulsed. Two Americans were killed and a few men wounded. The German casualties were thirty-eight killed and wounded. In another assault two American patrols of sixteen men each, from two angles, drove off eighty Germans without losing a man, but wounding and killing eleven. On another occasion when a lieutenant noticed the absence of four men from among those returning after a raid and asked for volunteers to return to the search, eighteen men jumped at the chance. In this act the spirit of the troops was exemplified, as it was again by a sign which read: "There's no No Man's Land any more. This is Yankeeland." This sign had to be replaced seven times after being shot down by Germans. On the day of an American occupation a German sign reading "Welcome Yanks" had been put up by the Germans, but was immediately shot down by American machine-gunners.

As to an Allied offensive this year, it was now known that the British had virtually accepted the Pétain idea of no further attempt at a grand offensive until the United States, as well as France, and Britain, were "lined up," and this could not happen during 1918. Until 1919, therefore, the Western Allies had apparently abandoned all idea of anything beyond limited local operations, and in a sense had accepted the defensive. They had come to believe that, except with overwhelming superiority in reserves, such as neither side now possest, a "break through was impossible. It was clear

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AMERICAN GUNS ON THEIR WAY TO THE FRONT IN FRANCE

that Hindenburg, if he expected to get to Paris in April or even in July, would have to achieve what had not been achieved by any one in the west at any time during the war.

"Are the Germans beginning their offensive?" was the question on the lips of every Frenchman in the first week of March. An increase of activity seemed to answer the query in the affirmative. A mixed state of opinion had, however, arisen. Many refused to admit the likelihood of any great German drive at all. There was much divergence of view even among the chief military writers of the Paris press. Whether one accepted or refused the theory of an offensive, the opinion was largely based on impressions of the German internal situation, rather than on immediate military considerations. In general, French opinion inclined to the view that an onslaught was imminent. But it became known early in March that, while loudly proclaiming a gigantic offensive, the Germans had been working night and day for months building up a great system of defense. Germany realized that in the end she must sustain, on the French front, the shock of the combined French, British and American armies. She knew that, in spite of whatever initial success she might have in a Western offensive, she would be obliged ultimately to defend every step of territory between the West Front and the Rhine. Accordingly, the West Front, extending for miles to the rear—in fact, practically back to the Rhine—had now been converted into one vast defensive system.

By March 8 clear skies had returned, and everywhere along the American, British, and French sectors there was an increase in activity. Verdun was once more the scene of heavy artillery-actions. The American lines near Toul were just southeast of Verdun. German aviators were seen continually over the American lines, spying out ammunition dumps, the location of guns and the disposition of forces. For twenty-four hours almost without interruption, the Germans hammered away at trenches occupied by an American regiment in training in the Lorraine sector. Trench-mortars and mine-throwers joined with Krupp artillery. The bombardment was the worst endured by any American unit during the same length of time. Numbers of dugouts were

pulverized, and the Americans were obliged to face a rain of projectiles of all sizes in unroofed and partly demolished trenches. Lines ran through a forest "where the torn and leafless tree-trunks seemed bathed in a dense mist of blue-black smoke from which spouted geyser-like eruptions of mud as German high explosives found their mark." Gas was mingled with shrapnel, but its effects were negligible.[9] More than fifty French War Crosses had now been distributed among American troops along the Chemin-des-Dames for the part played in eleven engagements, most of which were raids.

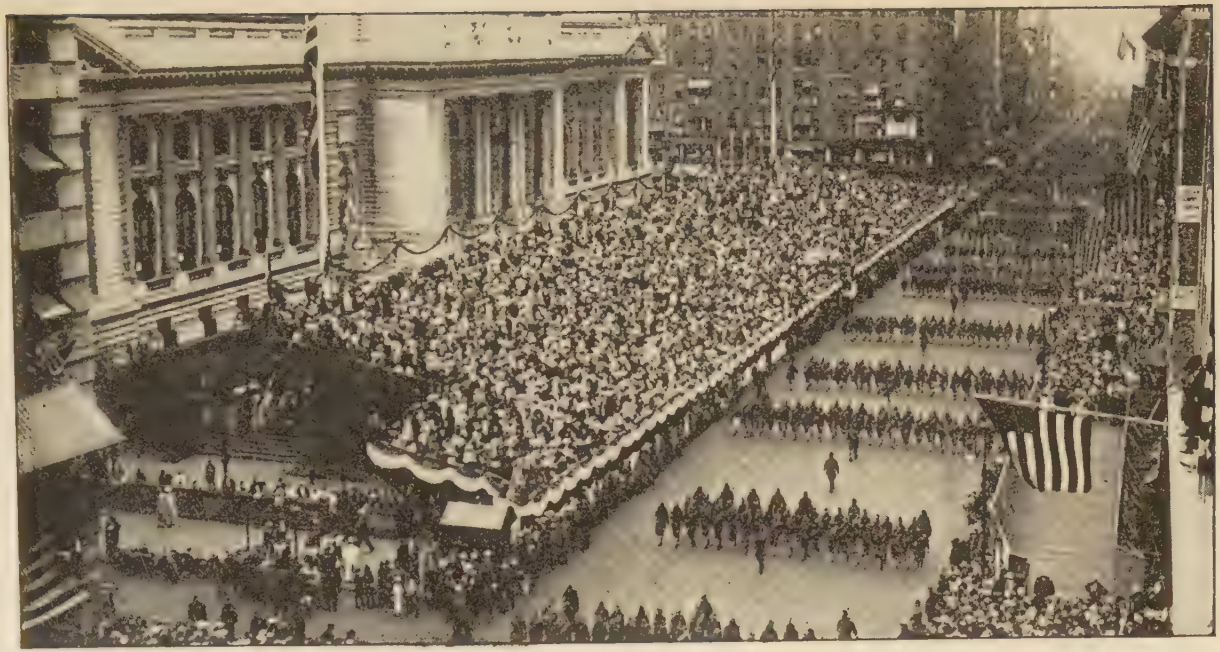
Three raids on British lines were attempted in the Armentières sector, but the British repulsed the Teutons. The fighting spread along the Flanders front to Ypres and Paschendaele. Activities spread farther south, and encounters near St. Quentin were mentioned for the first time in weeks. All along the Western Front intensive artillery duels and raiding operations occurred on isolated sectors. Four groups of German gas projectors, in addition to 200 projectors already reported destroyed, were discovered and blown to pieces by American artillery. German plans for a gas-attack on a comparatively huge scale against American positions northwest of Toul had thus been upset. New groups had been discovered from aerial photographs taken by American observers in French airplanes. American forces northwest of Toul carried out an important raid in which artillery preparation lasted forty-five minutes and then entered German defenses as far as the second line. No prisoners were taken, chiefly because the Germans had run precipitately. Yankee gunners had been fast picking up the details of the war-game. Their work in connection with raids proved that they had reached efficiency. Many thousands of shells were employed in bombardment and barrage fires on the Toul front on March 13, where it was twenty minutes before a German gun was able to get into action.

And still no real German offensive. As late as March 14 the Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger,* as if still believing that the German threats would force the Entente to make peace, remarked that Germany "could afford not to hurry." The *Tageblatt* had an editorial entitled "The Ability to Wait,"

[9] Lincoln Eyre in The *World* (New York).

in which it asserted that the tension among the belligerents had never been so great as now, that decisive battles were approaching and that "failure would lead to disaster." Particular interest was attached to the question, who would attack first. In Germany the army and the people were counting on a renewed offensive, unless the Entente made peace, and confidence of success was still founded on faith in the high command, but the German military leaders "would not be impelled by this confidence to hurry, but could quietly wait for the right moment to begin a big action." The ability to wait was "one of the most important qualities of great generals." At the same time General Sir Frederick D. Maurice, chief director of British military operations, said: "The beginning of the great German offensive on the West Front is close at hand." Germans were making desperate efforts to wrest the supremacy of the air from the Allies before the land battle opened, but the Allies were "confident of being able to upset calculations in this direction."

Hindenburg, in an interview in Berlin, as if weary with waiting for a collapse of the Entente, declared that "as the Entente had shown an unresponsive attitude toward Germany's peace intentions," the great offensive "must go on." Ludendorff at the same time announced that Germany was now "stronger than her enemies in men, material, air-forces and tanks." Ludendorff added that Germany's enemies were welcome to attack, but "would find Germany ready," and if they were not inclined to make peace they "would have to fight." If they wished to attack now, "let them do so." Only one week after these threats the great drive in Picardy began. Failing to get peace on their own terms, the Germans now began their last effort to win peace with the sword. Into that effort they put every pound of their remaining strength. On the day when it was launched, the Kaiser, amid the roar of guns, declared: "The prize of victory must and will not fail us; no soft peace, but one which corresponds with German interests." Six days later he was still boasting that "we shall win everything," and in the Reichstag speakers were declaring that there must be no more "moderation" such as was shown to beaten Russia;



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DEPARTURE OF THE 27TH DIVISION FROM NEW YORK

The date of this event was August 30, 1917. The 27th were militiamen from various parts of New York State, and are here shown passing the Public Library, near Forty-second Street

"thumping indemnities," and huge annexations were to be imposed on the Western Powers for "their will not to be defeated," for their unwillingness to make peace—a peace of the kind Germany sought. Such was the spirit in which the military masters of Germany still declared they could obtain peace with the sword from the Entente nations. Four months afterward Ludendorff was in flight from the Marne salient and in four months more Germany was in a revolution, in which every crowned head, great and small, lost his throne, and the Kaiser and Crown Prince were fugitives in Holland.

Each day down to March 21 had witnessed an increase in fighting activity along the Western Front. In every theater of war except Russia, infantry and artillery had been at work on March 17. From the North Sea to the Swiss frontier, no day passed without numerous "patrol" encounters, which at times reached the intensity almost of battles. Artillery duels were in violence little short of great exchanges of shells. The most ambitious attempt was made by French troops over a wide front in the Verdun sector, where the attack was delivered after preparatory artillery-fire lasting ten hours, and troops came into hand-to-hand encounter. Haig's men were under heavy bombardments. Particularly violent was the pounding of shells along the Bapaume-Cambrai road, in the Scarpe Valley, and around Lens. Only one enemy infantry attack was attempted. This occurred north of Lens and was repulsed. The British were successful in similar maneuvers near Epéhy and Gavrelle. On the American front near Toul the Americans were ever on the alert and frequently opened up with their guns against German positions and compelled the enemy to evacuate sectors under fire. The Toul sector apparently had been picked out by the Germans as a favorite spot upon which to expend noxious gases. Signs that the German High Command was taking the presence of our troops on the front west of Lunéville more seriously were accumulating. They had undertaken to harass our men with artillery fire at all hours of the night. One morning they trained upon one of our Lorraine sectors the mightiest gun yet designed. It was a 380 millimeter (15 inches) howitzer, which, like our heavy

ordnance, was fired from a railroad truck. In all these maneuvers the Teutons met their match.

In none of the raids thus far had any material gain been made by either side, except by the French, who, in the Reims region, penetrated German positions to a depth of about three-fifths of a mile. American troops on the Toul sector continued daily to give the enemy little rest, bombarding towns behind lines and trenches in front of them. Airmen on both sides were keenly active. Both were claiming a heavy toll in aviators shot down during combats in the air. To the French had fallen the task of facing the fiercest in-

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PERSHING AND BAKER INSPECTING AMERICAN HARBOR WORK IN FRANCE

fantry fighting. In Lorraine the Germans delivered numerous strong attacks, but all were put down. American troops gave the Germans a dose of their own favorite weapon—asphyxiating gas. Four different sectors of Germans were gas-shelled, and the gasses had the desired effect. By March 18 the Belgian army, reorganized and ready for battle, had taken over the coast sector in Flanders, which had heretofore been held by the French, altho British troops had made their appearance there at various times. As the Belgians, who were excellent in morale, had freed French and British forces for action elsewhere on the front, this

demonstrated that the past winter had been one of constructive work.

Secretary Baker was now in France, reviewing the achievements of American engineers, contractors, and workmen. At "a port in France" two miles and more of dock front had been built on ground which in October was only marsh. Slips for steamships had been constructed; concrete warehouses had been completed or were being put up; railroad-tracks were spreading in all directions, with a "yard" for thousands of freight-cars. All this work was of a permanent nature, and cost many millions. The port had possibilities that pointed to another Hamburg. Going into the interior, Mr. Baker saw immense supply depots with buildings after buildings, an ice-making plant, the third largest in the world; a storage warehouse a fifth of a mile long; great aerodromes, with hundreds of hangars; artillery quadrangles and base training-camps for troops; a hospital that would hold 20,000 beds; and everywhere railway tracks and sheds, and locomotive assembling and repair-shops. Soon after he completed his tour, Ludendorff launched his long-heralded offensive in the west, basing his attack on Cambrai and aiming at Amiens. Four months later Ludendorff found himself in a class with von Kluck as a general, who had retreated from the Marne.[10]

[10] Principal Sources: Hilaire Belloc in *The Tribune* (New York), The *Daily Chronicle* (London), The *Times*, The *World*, New York; Associated Press dispatches.

ITALIAN, BALKAN, PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIAN FRONTS

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EASTERN FRONT
THE GERMANO-AUSTRO-RUSSIAN BATTLEGROUND
Farthest advance of
Russians: ++++
Germans and Austrian-Hungarians: ——
Railroads thus:
Forts thus: + ☆
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150
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